



Daily Report

East Europe

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Writer Criticized for Radio Free Europe Contact
AU1402095589 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT
in Bulgarian 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial article: "'And Let No Unworthy Words...'"]

[Text] Recently the LITERATURE FRONT Editorial Board encountered phenomena that evoked bewilderment. We would not have been amazed if these phenomena were connected only with the well-known varieties of attacks and badly concocted fabrications of Radio "Free Europe." We are used to that. People do what they are paid to do. We are so used to it that it is ridiculous to use reproach, explanations, and counterarguments. Rather, we joke about it and turn it into anecdotes.

We live at a time of such complex processes, self-analysis, and profound reforms in various areas of our life that we ourselves, more than our "well-wishers"—who are situated thousands kilometers from Bulgaria and its problems—seek, publicize, and refuse to reconcile with much more serious defects of public, economic, and social character.

There are still risks, powerful chiefs [nachalniks] in various areas, for whom it is important to remain above criticism, and problems that a literary newspaper finds difficult to tackle. There still are people who prefer to wait and keep silent, and others who are satisfied with general slogans, instead of specifically identifying the shortcomings and their conveyers. However, on the basis of the readers' letters to LITERATURE FRONT and the writers' acts in assisting restructuring, democratizing society, and developing glasnost, we can say that the degree of civil activity has increased. This is an irreversible process that is developing and gaining steam....

Let us take the case that has already been clarified by the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article of 7 February, and the fact that certain respected and honored people in our country, as pointed out by RABOTNICHESKO DELO, have expressed a spontaneous desire to help Petur Manolov without being sufficiently informed about the actual facts and the grounds for adopting the measures against him. A special "compassion" has been manifested in connection with the scrutiny and temporary seizure of the so-called literary archives of the poet, actually a file of manuscripts, that was returned to him.

Our writer, Blaga Dimitrova, as indeed each of us, has the right to spontaneously express her compassion, agreement, or disagreement, her reproach or refusal to accept a certain fact, and her personal attitude. It all fits the spirit of the present climate. It is something else that evokes our bewilderment. Radio "Free Europe," located in Munich, insolently demanded an explanation from LITERATURE FRONT, asking whether the Editorial Board had received a letter related to the aforementioned case, something they had been informed about on the previous day in a phone call by Blaga Dimitrova. It is not strange that it is easier to dial a telephone number

in Munich, which has 13 digits, than the Sofia number of LITERATURE FRONT, which has only 6 digits. (We know the state of our telephone exchanges.) However, this is hardly the only reason that prompted Blaga Dimitrova to call Munich instead of our number.

Naturally, everyone can express his opinion. However, the issue is somewhat different. Why call a center such as "Free Europe?" Why does a writer use the telephone to seek an ally in a radio station which is alien to our country and which slanders our country and kin? Where is the unique pride of the poet in experiencing the pain, suffering, hopes, disappointments, joys, and insults with his people and country? Yes, we all experience moments of suffering, mistakes, delusions, and sharp turns in our course, and hasty decisions torture our consciousness. One also must respect and feel compassion for the concern for a person who finds himself in an extreme situation (regardless of whether this person is a poet). We all have the right to have such concern. We express this concern in various ways. It is exclusively our problem. But why those daily dialogues with "Free Europe"? Why the fretting and gasps? Why use the old sensational tricks again, and pressure from outside?

In his afterword to Ana Akhmatova's volume of "Selected Lyrics" (1974), our poet and translator Ivan Nikolov wrote: "... the words of Ana Akhmatova resound with the power of an oath—she worthily answers the alien voice that tempted her to leave her 'deaf and sinful' country:

'But indifferent and calm,

I forever rejected the rumor

And let no unworthy word

Stain my lofty spirit.'"

Did Blaga Dimitrova exhaust all the possibilities inside the country to help resolve an issue that has not been fully clarified? Apparently she does not seek to resolve one issue or another, but rather the "glory" that the proud Akhmatova rejected with contempt. A poet expresses himself, his essence, ideas, and thoughts mainly through his poems. To send your story or poems to a literary newspaper means that you perceive the newspaper as a tribune, from which you want to impart your main thoughts to the readers. Blaga Dimitrova sent her poems to our newspaper, and the Editorial Board informed her that her poems will be published, and that they have been scheduled to be published in the present issue. [The present issue of LITERATURE FRONT on page 3 indeed carries five short poems by Blaga Dimitrova entitled "Impatience," "Notebook Under the Pillow," "Snow," "Fell From the Moon," and "Along the Way." The poems are of a personal nature and devoid of any apparent political connotations] It was most natural that a talented and prominent poetess like her would seek to resolve the specific case we are

discussing in our country and with our own forces, no matter how difficult it is. But why Munich? Is not the very essence of restructuring expressed in solving our problems by ourselves? Who else will solve them for us?

It is true that so far LITERATURE FRONT has done very little to help the main processes of restructuring, and that much work, struggling, and bold acts lie ahead of us. However, it is also true that many of our writers demonstrated their moral and social activity and determination in the pages of our newspaper. The poet Mincho Minchev spoke many difficult truths about the state of our railroads and the real reasons for this state. He defended the Bulgarian railroad workers at a difficult moment. Dimitur Vulev mercilessly analyzed the problem of bureaucracy. Toncho Zhechev, Neda Antonova, Rashko Sugarev, Veselin Andreev, Nikolay Khaytov, Diko Fuchedzhiev, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Radoslav Mikhaylov, Borislav Gerontiev, Zdravko Petrov, Krustyoy Kuyumdzhiev, Georgi Markovski, Rangel Ignatov, Chavdar Dobrev, Lyuben Dilov, Dimitur Yarumov, and others presented sharp social and moral issues and pointed out unresolved and acute problems related to restructuring the intellectual sphere. However, none of them sought the assistance of Radio "Free Europe." This internal work of cleansing the shortcomings and defects is an unpleasant, difficult, and ungrateful job. It brings no international fame, but only inflicts wounds. However, we prefer these wounds a thousand times more than the humiliating compassion for our people that Radio "Free Europe" ostensibly demonstrates. If somebody is hurt by all this, then it is us, ourselves, us and only us. And precisely because we hurt, we must mobilize our inner forces, correct all defects, and remove the pain.

Radoy Ralin, LITERATURE FRONT observer on the payroll, also spontaneously expressed his desire to help clarify the case and help, (naturally he never thought of approaching Radio "Free Europe") and turned to the chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union. The assistance rendered by Lyubomir Levchev is in fact the assistance of the leadership of the Bulgarian Writers Union, and naturally, it reflects the attitude of LITERATURE FRONT toward the case. LITERATURE FRONT is the organ of the union, and its chief editor is deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union.

Therefore, the much later concocted stories about LITERATURE FRONT, statements of an employee of the Editorial Board to Radio "Free Europe," and fabricated meetings of editorial collegiums and councils are pitiful, a total lie. There is undisputable evidence that disproves these insolent methods. It is clear that additional reasons for the evening dialogues of Radio "Free Europe" with Blaga Dimitrova have been sought.

It is interesting that some people are not moved when the right of the Bulgarian writers and literary criticism to assess by themselves their own literature and its development is drastically seized. Are they not disgusted by the attempts to manipulate our creative intelligentsia by

remote control from Munich, in the same manner that the electronic rabbits and mice, recently marketed by the "Mladost" State Trust, are manipulated?

The real right of assessment belongs to all contemporary Bulgarian literary critics, as well as historians and writers of every generation, and the Bulgarian readers, viewers, and listeners. We can exchange among ourselves many bitter truths and exacerbate the purifying process. Perhaps the road toward higher competence is difficult, perhaps there are mistakes and deplorable lapses in resolving certain problems, however, they are ours and only ours, and we shall solve them by our own forces, in our own country, and with our own people.

Prosecutor Discusses Changing Legal System
AU0902124889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Vasil Mruchkov, chief public prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, by Gencho Boshnakov: "Legal Reform: An Essential Aspect of Restructuring"; date and place not given]

[Text] The current innovative processes accompanied by an expanding democratization of our society urgently require profound changes in those spheres which create, apply, and guarantee socialist legality.

It was stressed at the BCP Central Committee July (1987) and December (1988) Plenums that a comprehensive restructuring of society is impossible without a restructuring of the legal superstructure. Today, more than ever, the law is turning into one of the basic levers and most important guarantors of economic reform, of the intellectual and social changes, of the political development of society to the highest level, and of the improvement of self-management.

Simultaneously, the new objective realities are going beyond the narrow framework of legislation as it existed in the past and the principles of its application.

The legal reform which is about to be implemented in our country is not a temporary campaign. This means that it will require extensive debates on the problems related to socialist legality and on the work of the organs which are authorized to observe it.

The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO will provide ample space for materials expressing the views of legal experts, of party, economic, and public figures, and for the opinions of all our readers on forthcoming innovative processes in legislation and related to the application of laws, to the organization, and to the structure of our law protection organs.

Professor Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is our guest today. He will answer Gencho Boshnakov's questions.

[Boshnakov] The documents of the BCP Central Committee July (1987) and December (1988) Plenums and those of the BCP national conference formulated the task of reforming the legal superstructure of our society. Can you indicate the reasons that make this reform necessary and describe its goals?

Would you be so kind as to tell us something about the preparations for the reform and express your views on its future implementation?

[Mruchkov] The necessity of reforming the legal superstructure stems from the fundamental changes which are under way in our society in connection with implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the documents of the July (1987) and December (1988) BCP Central Committee Plenums. These changes affect all spheres of social life, such as the economic, political, cultural, and social spheres.

Socialist people's power and the expansion of democracy through self-management are the cornerstones of these changes. Their implementation requires an appropriate legal superstructure in its two basic components: the legal system, namely legislation, and the legal institutions, or "law-protection organs," as we recently began to call them, which include the court of law, the prosecutor's office, the investigation organs, arbitration, the bar, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whose activities are closely connected with the application of laws.

The reform of the legal superstructure plays a dual role: On the one hand, it is part of the total restructuring process of society, on the other hand, restructuring in other spheres of social life is impossible without a legal basis and general norms settling changes in these spheres, so that they may acquire an organized, purposeful, harmonious, and obligatory character, and may be implemented.

It is precisely through this second function of the legal reform that the contradiction emerging between the acting legislation and the practical steps that are being adopted for the implementation of restructuring can be overcome.

The reform of the legal superstructure has accomplished its first steps. They are based on the principles proclaimed by the two declarations of the National Assembly in 1987: the one on placing socialist property under the management and administration of the collectives and the one dealing with the self-management of territorial communities. Changes were carried out on a legal basis in the administrative-territorial division of the country, and the Election Law was amended. Important government documents were adopted, such as Decree No 35 in 1987, and numerous others. A particularly important step was accomplished in this respect by adopting the Decree on Economic Activity at the beginning of 1989 and the code of regulations on its application, which is in the process of

preparation. These documents are the basis for a fundamental change in economic legislation which substantially reflects upon other branches of legislation, such as foreign trade, civil, procedural, financial, labor, and other types of legislation.

This is only the beginning. We are still facing major tasks related to the reform of the legal superstructure. For this reason it is necessary to speed up the amendment of the Constitution, because it is part of the amendments to the legislation, such as the reforms in the system of representative state organs, forms of property, civil rights and freedoms, organization of courts of law and of the prosecutor's office, and so forth. All these reforms are linked to constitutional amendments. In this respect we will apply the guidelines contained in the concept on restructuring to the legal and political system of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is being developed by a group attached to the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. As a matter of fact, the reform of the legal superstructure is a process of restructuring the legal system and organization, a reform of the activities of law protection organs, and not an urgent assignment which should be implemented within certain deadlines.

The initial steps have been carried out. Now it is important to determine the stages and the priorities of implementation. It is particularly important to make sure that we have sufficient time to reflect on this task, to discuss, and to implement it. A hasty approach in legislation is likely to generate grave mistakes and frequent changes. We have learned from experience in this matter.

[Boshnakov] In your statement to the BCP national conference you spoke on the basically new role of the law in governing our society. How would you describe this new role? How will the supremacy of the law be guaranteed?

For example, will the Prosecutor's Office exert some legislative functions or be invested with the legal power to revoke illegal decisions adopted by the Council of Ministers?

[Mruchkov] In the law-governed state which we intend to build, the law is the basic normative document through which social relations are to be settled, and according to which society will be governed. This means, above all, that instead of numerous normative documents and legal acts (such as decrees, regulations, orders, and instructions) issued by the Council of Ministers and its organs (such as ministries and committees), legal order will be settled by a small number of laws. This has been achieved, to a considerable extent, even today in the initial phase, at least in regard to the number of laws.

Approximately 100 laws are in effect in our country today. Unfortunately, however, they are frequently amended and changed, and in the majority of cases this happens on the basis of decrees. It is a fact that our Constitution makes provisions for such possibilities; however, according to the

concept of the Constitution, this procedure should be applied only in exceptional cases, but for many years it has been the rule in our country.

In the second place, the application of the laws continues to be accompanied by numerous codes of regulations and instructions, which complicate the legal procedure and substitute for the laws. Generally speaking, the normative acts created are greater in scope and impact than the laws themselves.

Even in 1986, the situation still remained the same in this respect. We have no effective, working constitutional mechanism to check whether the secondary, legal acts conform with the law, or to reduce their number. Article 97 of the Decree on Economic Activity which has been in force since 17 January 1989 makes the provision that secondary, legal acts and decisions adopted by the Council of Ministers and other state organs which contradict the aforementioned decree should be canceled by the Supreme Court at the request of the interested parties, or at the public prosecutor's request. It is too early to forecast the future impact of this provision; however, its limited effect is already visible: It applies only to acts which contradict the Decree on Economic Activity.

In my opinion, a radical solution would be to establish a Constitutional Court as well as an amendment to the Constitution. This would be the only way to ensure the supremacy of the law and its prevailing importance within the legal system.

In the third place, it is necessary to propagate respect for the law and its strict observance by citizens and economic organizations in connection with the introduction of company-based organization into the national economy. This respect and observance of the law should be practiced by the companies and by all officials, as well as by state and public organs and organizations, regardless of their state functions and social status. This is and continues to be the joint in the armor of legality in our country. As long as this state of affairs exists, things cannot substantially improve, despite all the decisions of high-ranking party and state organs related to the supremacy of the law.

The Prosecutor's Office plays an important and irreplaceable role in this respect. Its present legal powers based on the filing of protests and the submission of proposals are not sufficiently effective. They should be expanded in regard to their scope and impact. We could, for example, consider including documents issued by the Council of Ministers in the area of contested acts. It could be possible to appeal to the Council of Ministers or to the State Council to cancel them, and to let the future organ of constitutional control on legal government acts make temporarily ineffective certain documents issued by the Council of Ministers which do not conform to the law, as long as the competent, high-ranking state organs and others have not announced their decision.

[Boshnakov] It is a well-known fact that a modern civic society is unthinkable without the guaranteed protection of the citizens' rights and interests. Could you tell us something about the ideas of the Prosecutor's Office on expanding this protection, as well as on the guarantees for the application of the law in this respect?

Could you specify the solution to this problem in terms of penal cases, and in particular, in regard to the stage in which preliminary proceedings are?

[Mruchkov] The protection of the citizens' rights and of their legitimate interests is an important yardstick in evaluating freedom in a society and the extent of its democratization. It is the vocation and duty of the Prosecutor's Office, as a specialized state legal organ, to contribute through its power and competence, to guaranteeing the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, as well as their exercising of these rights. The tasks facing the Prosecutor's Office in this respect are important. We are, above all, in favor of expanding the legal protection of the citizens' rights and legitimate interests, because this legal protection provides the greatest guarantees for these rights and interests based on the fact that controversial cases are reviewed by a state organ which is independent, qualified, and competent in legal affairs. The carrying out of procedures concerning controversial cases is done in an atmosphere of openness and competitiveness so that the truth may be found and proved, and justice may prevail.

As a result of this, our future legislative development is facing two important questions: On the one hand, the administrative protection of the citizens' rights is being restricted by the fact that this protection is implemented by a "superior" organ, higher ranking than the one which has violated the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, because the higher-ranking organ cannot always refrain from sharing the opinion of the inferior organ about which the citizen is complaining for having violated his rights. In the course of time, this defense was expanded and replaced the old legal institutions for the sake of greater speed and efficiency, without providing sufficient objectivity and guarantees for its implementation. On the other hand, the dispensation of justice in our country today is entrusted not only to the courts of law, but also to several other organs which specialize in individual legal disputes and which are similar to courts of law, but are not real courts of law. These are the so-called special jurisdictions. Their number has increased over the years and there are approximately 30 today, such as the organs which protect citizens' rights according to the Law on Territorial and Settlement Organization, the organs dealing with cases concerning the Law on Rents, and others.

The administering of the law by these organs does not provide the guarantees of protection which are provided by state law courts. We should reduce the number of these jurisdiction organs and submit the cases they have

been entrusted with to the law courts. In other words, it is necessary to provide further "fairer consideration" in the courts for the citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

You asked me specifically about the Public Prosecutor's Office's ideas for solving these problems in the penal process, particularly with regard to preliminary proceedings.

I would like to add two specific points, from the prosecutor's viewpoint, to what I said above. The first concerns expanding the prosecutor's participation in the examination of civil and administrative cases. For us, the defense of citizen's rights is tantamount to defense of the public interest, because it is in the interest of socialist society as a whole that citizen's rights are ensured. Not only the individual citizen, but all of society, "gains" from this. The second point relates to expanding the overall supervisory function of the Prosecutor's Office, that is, the work concerned with establishing violations and restrictions of citizens' rights that result from regulations, orders, and instructions issued by the local and state executive organs, and with correcting these breaches of the law. To attain this, the general supervisory function of the public prosecutor should be backed with more powers in order to put a stop to those illegal acts that limit citizens' rights and make the organs that issued them follow the directions, etc. of the Prosecutor's Office. These enhanced powers of the Prosecutor's Office require that its staff be strengthened.

In the penal process, strengthening the protection of citizens' rights poses an exceptional number of complex and delicate problems. The right to a defense in court cases is a fundamental civic right, established in Article 138 of the Constitution. In the penal process, two issues arise. The first concerns defense of the rights of the injured party. This issue seems to remain in the background. We talk more about defending the rights of the accused, and less about defending the rights of the victim of the crime, who in fact suffers most directly the harm resulting from the crime. The Public Prosecutor's Office has a duty here toward the victim—as a private plaintiff, a civil claimant—with regard to the material and moral damage caused by the crime. In this connection, we, as the state prosecuting organ, should be more active in the penal process. This is dictated by the public and state interest, which the Prosecutor's Office is here to serve.

The second issue relates to defending the accused. The right of defense against a charge is established in Article 138, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution. This constitutional right is granted to citizens throughout the entire period of the prosecution process during which they are regarded as a defendant. It begins from the presentation of charges and lasts throughout the period they are on trial. The most important component of this right is the right of the accused to be defended by a lawyer.

However, according to the Code of Penal Procedure now in force, the accused is able to exercise this right only from the time of presentation of the materials of the investigation, that is, when the preliminary inquiries have already been completed. In any case, the existing legislation has lagged behind the Constitution. Our view is that this right should be extended, by introducing it at a fairer time, namely from the time when the citizen is charged or detained as a suspect in cases covered by the law. The idea is that a man should be guaranteed the right of using qualified legal assistance (of a barrister) in cases where he has been charged with a crime or detained under arrest, thus infringing his liberty, to enable him to legally defend his rights.

This creates a new legal situation for the conduct of the preliminary investigation, which makes new demands on the organs responsible for the preliminary proceedings—the Public Prosecutor's Office, investigator, and coroner—to properly carry out the investigation and inquest according to the law, discover the objective truth, and collect the evidence. This new situation makes great new demands on the legal profession to act strictly in accordance with the law and preserve high ethical standards. We must all prepare for this despite the difficulties that await us, because the purposes that we serve justify it, namely objective truth, justice, and defense of the individual and the citizens' rights and lawful interests.

[Boshnakov] Will the economic changes and the legislation regulating these changes lead to changes in the Penal Code? How do you view future penal policy?

[Mruchkov] The changes in the economy and economic legislation will also lead to changes in the Penal Code. I refer here to changes in a specific section of the Penal Code that delineates what crimes consist of, particularly economic crimes.

With the development of individual and collective labor activity under the Decree on Economic Activity and Council of Ministers' Decree No 35 of 1987, the provisions of Article 233 of the Penal Code (covering commercial activity without a permit), the practice of a profession or trade without a permit (Article 324, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code), the performance of private economic activity (Article 226 of the Penal Code), acting as a commercial agent (Article 234 of the Penal Code), and other activities acquire a different meaning and are implemented in a different way. The same is true of foreign currency offenses (Article 250 of the Penal Code), crimes against the monopoly of foreign trade (Articles 241 and 242 of the Penal Code), and other articles. These are only a few examples.

However, these changes should in no way affect the clauses in the Penal Code that make embezzlement by officials a crime, as well as failure to protect socialist property against destruction, damage, or waste resulting from failure to show the necessary care (irresponsible

management), and so on. Quite the contrary, the new organization of economic activity itself requires stricter measures against these criminal encroachments on socialist property.

As far as the penal policy of the socialist state is concerned, the changes in this policy will be directed toward more precisely and fairly correlating the penalties provided with the social danger of the offense and overcoming the obsession with excessive punishments, which for this very reason are rarely applied in practice, and so on.

In penal practice, we need more stable and consistent criteria for determining the type of punishment and its extent, in order to overcome variations from one extreme to the other (unjustified severe penalties or too liberal ones) because of market considerations.

Penalties not involving imprisonment and suspended sentences should occupy a proper place, while unswervingly observing the principle that the aim of punishment is to correct and reform the offender, and not to cause him physical suffering and humiliation.

[Boshnakov] Which functions of the Prosecutor's Office do you believe should be strengthened—the preventative or the prosecuting role?

[Mruchkov] There is something that I do not like in the way you put the question. The alternative "preventative or prosecuting function" of the Prosecutor's Office is an incorrect formulation of the question.

The prosecuting function is a basic activity of the Public Prosecutor's Office in bringing prosecution against a certain person, proving his guilt according to legally specified forms and procedures, and demanding that he be sentenced and have the penalty prescribed by the law imposed on him. This function of the public prosecutor makes up a substantial part of his struggle against crime. However, although it is important, it forms only part of our work. In this function, the Prosecutor's Office follows up after the crime has been committed and seeks punishment of the person who committed the crime. This is part and parcel of the basic general function of the Prosecutor's Office, namely supervision of the law in practice [zakonnost].

In order that "the other parts" of the general function of the Prosecutor's Office of supervising the law in practice be "fulfilled," other activities also have to be developed, such as the overall control, and participation in the examination of civil and administrative cases. However, the work of the Prosecutor's Office is not exhausted by this, because, by these very activities, it acts and assists in eliminating offenses against the law. It is precisely in this aspect that the law protection organs were criticized at the national party conference. This criticism is fair, and fully applies to the Public Prosecutor's Office. The lesson to be learned is that we should increase the preventative aspect of all public prosecuting work, of all

its functions, including that of carrying prosecutions. This means that we must track down, discover, and investigate the causes and conditions that gave rise to a particular crime or offense against the law, bring the offense into public view, and propose measures for eliminating such crimes and offenses. In any case, our task is to seek and achieve a preventative effect from every type of public prosecuting activity: general work, investigating work, penal and court work, execution of punishments, civil court work, and work with minors.

Only then will we be following up "the event" and "preventing" offenses against the law, because we will be acting together with the other state, economic, and public organs to prevent crimes and eliminate the causes and conditions that give rise to them. To return to your question, I might sum up my reply as follows: We need to strengthen the preventative work of the Public Prosecutor's Office in all forms of its activity, including the preventative aspect of its prosecuting function.

[Boshnakov] It is well known that the Decree on Work With Critical Publications prohibits the publishing of articles and reports before the court verdict or sentence comes into force. Do you not think that this ban hinders us from keeping our public informed about especially serious crimes that create a risk of social, political, or even merely emotional tension among people? Could you suggest alternatives in order for us to jointly find a common way to ensure the provision of public information without influencing the court organs?

[Mruchkov] The instruction (Article 3) of the Decree on Work With Critical Publications is aimed at ensuring that objective and competent verdicts are reached in criminal, civil, and other court cases, and to guarantee that the court remains free from suggestions, influences, and attitudes created by articles and reports in the mass media before the verdict has been pronounced and has come into force. This is all the more necessary because these articles always take sides in the dispute, in other words, they essentially defend a position in a dispute that has not yet been completed. We will leave aside the question that, in a number of cases, the attitude adopted is legally incompetent and hastily formed because of a journalist's obsession with the sensational and curious. I do not want to dwell on those cases in which the mass media conclude the dispute they have discovered in a biased manner with no right of appeal, utilize their monopolizing position, dictate the "truth," monopolize it, and identify themselves with it. We are not irritated by glasnost in the activities of the organs involved in the dispensation of justice, even when the pages of certain papers carry bold headlines that hide pretensions of knowing everything and being qualified to teach lessons.... As far as we are concerned, what is more important is that by so doing, they infringe on the rights of other citizens—the participants in the dispute—by using the media's alleged rights and lawful interests. Such interference by the mass media shakes the citizens' confidence

in the judicial process, which forms part of their confidence in the authorities, and creates, as you suggested in the way you framed the question, "social, political, or even merely emotional tension among people."

I am aware—and this view is also shared by my colleagues in the Chief Prosecutor's Office—that the conditions of glasnost and democratization of social life also present challenges to the work of the law protection organs.

The Prosecutor's Office accepts this challenge, with a sense of responsibility to the people, and is ready to take part in the common process of introducing more openness in our work in order to overcome the feeling of infallibility in our work. However, we want these articles and reports to be written after the sentence or verdict has been enacted. They should also be written with greater competence, professionalism, objectivity, and a sense of the mass media's public and professional responsibility, and only after making careful, comprehensive checks, as required under Article 2 of the Decree on Work With Critical Publications. Otherwise, the mass media and their editorial boards, which, I believe conscientiously desire to help in strengthening legality, objectively perform this task by unlawful means. However, legality must be reinforced only by lawful means; anything else is arbitrary abuse of power. This is one aspect of the question.

The other side of the question concerns informing the public of the progress of the investigation of certain particularly serious crimes. I am fully aware that a problem exists here, which arises under the new conditions in which we live, and we must look for a solution to it by our common efforts. I see a way of doing this by periodically informing public opinion of the progress of the investigation, without adopting a view on who is guilty or who is responsible for the crime, or on the assembled evidence and its value, in order not to pre-judge the case or infringe upon the sovereign assessment of the court. In the course of the preliminary investigation, these reports should be made by the Prosecutor's office and the body responsible for monitoring the preliminary proceedings, with their permission or agreement, or, if the case has been brought to court, by the court that is examining the case, or with its agreement or permission. I think that this will enable us to find a common way to keep our public informed on certain especially serious crimes, and also to give the citizens greater confidence, calm, and trust in the dispensation of justice, as well as in the objectivity of the information disseminated by the mass media. This is in our common interest and in the interest of society.

Harvest Brigade Changes Proposed to Organs
AU0402162789 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 2 Feb 89 p 1

["Proposal by NARODNA MLADEZH to the Council of Ministers, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education, and the Ministry of Planning and Economy"; boldfaced passages published in large type]

[Text] On the basis of journalists' inquiries, readers' opinions and letters, a completed sociological research

study, and discussions with eminent scientists, NARODNA MLADEZH presses the Council of Ministers, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education, and the Ministry of Planning and Economy, to carry out the following:

Before the start of the 1989 brigade season,

1. To abolish all military-style aspects and terms in the youth brigades, voluntary labor associations, and labor initiatives.
2. To stop the operation of the regional, municipal, and other brigade headquarters as a component of the structure of the Komsomol leading organs. To create, in conformity with the needs of the Komsomol organizations and youth communities, youth labor offices that have no directive rights vis-a-vis the Komsomol organizations and youth communities, but serve them on a contractual basis.
3. To implement the requirement of Article 13 of Council of Ministers' Decree No 30 on establishing specific regulations for brigade (group) piecework as a basic form for the organization and payment of youth brigade labor. (The deadline for fulfilling this requirement, as laid down in the decree, was 30 September 1987.)
4. To eliminate the conditions for an administrative approach in organizing voluntary youth labor, contained in:
 - Article 54, Item 5 of the Code for Application of the Law on Higher Education;
 - Article 77 of the Code for Uniform Secondary Polytechnical Schools;
 - Article 3, Paragraph 1, Item 2, of the Order on Organization of Brigade Labor; and
 - analogous articles in similar regulations and orders.

NARODNA MLADEZH proposes that:

1. The principle of voluntary participation in youth brigade labor should be developed on a legal basis. In this connection:
 - Article 1 of the Order on Organization of Brigade Labor should be amended, by including in it a definition of the rights of the Komsomol organizations, societies, labor interest groups, and individual young people.
2. The equivalence and simultaneous application of the various forms of youth labor should be legally formulated, with guaranteed voluntary participation and free choice.

3. A viewpoint should be formulated concerning the voluntary labor and labor initiatives of juveniles, secondary schoolchildren, and students, based on the principles of economy and democratization, as an integral part of educating the next generation of the workers class.

4. The texts of Council of Ministers' Decree No 30 and the Order on Organization of Brigade Labor should be brought into line with the decisions of the December 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the new social and economic situation, and the processes under way in Bulgaria.

The editors of NARODNA MLADEZH take account of the fact that today, in a time of extremely dynamic social and economic changes, in the atmosphere of democratization and glasnost, there are no final truths, nor can such truths exist. For this reason, the series of articles that we have presented to our readers make no such claims. We are clearly aware that in these articles we have only touched on certain contradictions, certain disparities, and only some of the possible approaches and alternatives. We now have to work on the practical models and on specifically implementing them on the basis of broad public discussion.

Results of Jaruzelski Visit Assessed

AU0802110389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Feb 89 p 2

[Dalibor Macha commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Step Up Cooperation, Enhance Mutual Knowledge"]

[Text] Although the friendly working visit that Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, paid to Prague was limited to just 1 day, the report published about his Wednesday [1 February] talks with Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak already makes it possible to appraise this visit as extremely fruitful, intensive, and encompassing a broad range of problems of Czechoslovak restructuring and Polish socialist renewal.

Mutual briefings on the economic and political situation in the two countries held an important place in the cordial, businesslike atmosphere of the talks, which were held without any unnecessary officiousness. Like any other striking change, the process of social transformations is also accompanied by certain problems. It was therefore important for the two party representatives to brief each other on approaches to solving them. When opening the talks, Comrade Jakes aptly stressed that we want to make socialism attractive for other nations, too, and enable it to prove its advantages. Surely this is what the neighbors on both sides of the state border are concerned about.

After the USSR, Poland is our second largest trading partner. At present, it is in our common interest to achieve progress primarily in economic relations, where we have not yet succeeded to any great extent in introducing modern forms of cooperation. That is why the thought expressed during the talks between Comrades Jakes and Jaruzelski—i.e. "not to permit the volume of mutual economic exchange to decline"—is not only a call to increase the traditional goods exchange, but primarily a sign for gradually establishing joint enterprises, establishing direct relations, embarking on entrepreneurship on third markets, and searching for better possibilities to cooperate in production. However, the well-proven principle of mutual advantage continues to apply even here. A positive role in this should be played, above all, by the convertibility of currencies within the CEMA framework—at least internal convertibility. In the long run, we of the socialist community also want to attain a "common market"; however, we can scarcely count, for instance, on attaining the free movement of commodities across borders if we do not balance out our economies and achieve an approximate equilibrium in prices and currency exchanges. Such is reality.

Relations between states are not measured in goods, trade, and money alone. That is also why all ordinary citizens will surely welcome the fact that, during the Polish guest's visit, both sides spoke in favor of further developing tourism. Neighbors always want to get to

know each other, and this is certainly a basic human trait. This also holds doubly true for young people. The accord reached on youth cooperation will most definitely promote this. Likewise, a more favorable atmosphere created with the assistance of the communications media should foster deeper mutual knowledge and understanding. Actually, the passage on more extensive information about events on both sides of the border is also addressed to these media—specifically, it calls for evaluations that are free of one-sided, prejudiced views and for a purposeful sharing of experience in socialist restructuring. The agreement being prepared on the two fraternal parties' cooperation in ideology will undoubtedly also yield many new facets.

Whether we like it or not, our relations as viewed by the citizens of the two countries were often burdened by ecological problems—because people do care about the environments in which they live. That is also why the top CPCZ and PZPR representatives emphasized this is an important political issue when they linked the idea of convening a meeting of Czechoslovakia's neighbors on ecology with that of developing the European dialogue.

W. Jaruzelski's visit has thus confirmed that we will also apply the term "acceleration" to CSSR-PPR relations. We have all the necessary prerequisites for this. Both Czechoslovakia and Poland are interested in living not only as "neighbors," but also as friends who have something to offer each other and who can always rely on each other.

Jakes Chairs Session on Task Accomplishment

AU0802145989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
7 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Topical Issues; Conference With Leading Secretaries of Regional and City Party Committees"]

[Text] Prague—A national conference with the leading secretaries of regional party committees and the Prague and Bratislava City Committees was held yesterday [6 February]. It was chaired by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and attended by CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members and candidate members, and by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

The participants in the conference evaluated the experience acquired by party agencies and organizations in politically providing for the tasks of the national economic plan in 1988, and in making use of this experience for successfully accomplishing the tasks of the social and economic development plan in 1989. The participants in the conference focused their attention on the gradual realization of economic and social restructuring, on the intensification of socialist democracy, and on the broad dialogue with the citizens connected with it. They also assessed the Communists' tasks in activating the social organizations rallied in the National Front.

The conference participants stressed that it is essential to further unify the course embarked upon by the party's regional and city organizations in implementing the resolution of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee, in developing life inside the party, and in resolving the topical issues of current party work.

Jakes Working Visit to Spindleruv Mlyn Noted
LD0802155189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes paid a short working visit to Spindleruv Mlyn. He took part in the last day of the 17th year of (the Junior Criterium competition) and the 2d year of the Spindleruv Mlyn Cup for international disciplines.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Miroslav Toman then discussed at the city national committee the situation concerning the future of this important Krkonose center. They discussed the decline in the city's population, which is mainly caused by a shortage of [word indistinct] apartments. They also discussed the improvement of services made possible by new economic conditions and the new rights of the national committees. Naturally, the most important factor is the entrepreuneuring spirit and resourcefulness of the people who live and work in Spindleruv Mlyn.

Premier Adamec To Visit USSR 16-18 Feb
LD1302161789 Prague CTK in English
1517 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union on February 16-18 at the invitation of his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Adamec Receives Journalists Delegation
LD0802154489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1500 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec met today with a Czechoslovak Journalists Association delegation led by its chairman, Jan Risko. The two sides discussed a number of questions connected with the tasks and the professional and social standing of journalists in our society.

Comrade Ladislav Adamec thanked them for their support for the federal government's policy statement and assured the representatives of the Czechoslovak journalists that the high standard of public information is one of the basic political principles that guide the government's activity.

Trade Minister Leaves for Visit to Albania
LD1002142989 Prague CTK in English
1255 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba left here today for a working visit to Albania.

He will sign a protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between Czechoslovakia and Albania for 1989.

The foreign trade between Czechoslovakia and Albania reached 73 million roubles last year. Compared with the beginning of the 1980's, the mutual exchange of goods almost doubled though did not reach the supposed amount as the plan for goods imports was not fulfilled.

Czechoslovakia, together with Yugoslavia, is one of the most important trade partners of Albania, participating in its foreign trade with 13 per cent.

Czechoslovak-Albanian trade relations are based on the 1986 long-term agreement on the exchange of goods and payments for the years 1986-1990 which provides for the exchange of goods worth 374 million roubles. This represents an increase by 21 per cent, compared with the previous long-term agreement. This five-year document is concretized by annual protocols which specify the lists of exchanged goods.

Czechoslovakia exports to Albania mainly Liaz and Tatra lorries, hydraulic loaders, mining equipment, locomotives, fittings, machine tools, textile and industrial machinery, spare parts, metallurgical and chemical products and several types of consumer goods, and imports from Albania fresh vegetables and fruit, mainly potatoes, melons, cucumbers, leek, onion, peppers, oranges, as well as consumer goods.

Raw materials are an important item of Czechoslovak imports. Czechoslovakia participated in the prospecting for Albania's raw materials and the development of the mining of iron-nickel ore which has formed a raw material base for the production of nickel in Czechoslovakia for 30 years. Czechoslovakia imports also chrome ore and asphalt.

The foreign trade corporation Exico signed contract with Albanian partners on the basis of which shoe uppers will be made for Svit Gottwaldov and Gustav Kliment works in Trebic, both in South Moravia, according to Czechoslovak designs and demands. This year's supplies should be worth to 300,000 roubles and the sum is expected to triple.

Last year, Albania started to supply Czechoslovak producers of special agricultural machinery with non-ferrous parts.

Preparations for CSCE Document Continue
LD0902212989 Prague CTK in English
1930 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia is prepared to carry the Vienna final document into effect. All ministries were charged with working out by March 10 concrete steps to ensure the implementation of the document, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the

Vienna CSCE follow-up conference Frantisek Dolezel told a press conference at the office of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium here today.

He stressed that especially important is to put all legal regulations in harmony with the Vienna document.

He further said Czechoslovakia regards the document as a success of the all-European process which was brought to a qualitatively higher level in the military-political, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres.

He recalled that the successful outcome of the Vienna meeting reflects the positive changes in international relations and the will to seek mutually acceptable compromises.

Of the Czechoslovak proposal made in December 1986 to hold an economic forum in Prague, Frantisek Dolezel said it was supported by the socialist and other European countries but the USA rejected it and thus prevented its materialization. "What is important for us is not where the forum takes place but that it takes place at all. That is why we welcomed its holding in Bonn from March 19 to April 11, 1990 and will be active in preparing for it", Frantisek Dolezel said.

Adding details to the federal government's discussion about the state of forests and water in the Giant Mountains, department head of the Czech Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy Vladimir Korinek said that the environment in the mountains is deteriorating due to growing amount of emissions, more than half of their volume coming from other countries, mainly the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. The meeting of the Czechoslovak premier with the premiers of the neighbouring countries on ecological issues is expected to help settle this grave problem.

Asked whether reports that mud taken out of the Elbe in Hamburg is to be deposited on Czechoslovak territory were true, head of the press department of the federal government Presidium Miroslav Pavel said an analysis had shown that the mud contains concentrated poisonous heavy metals and other elements and therefore the chairman of the Czech geological office said on January 31 this year that storing any such substance on Czechoslovak territory is out of the question and banned any further talks on this issue.

Vienna CSCE Document To Be Published
AU1002141489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
7 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed reply in the "Replies to Readers' Questions" column: "The Vienna Document in a Mass Print Run"]

[Text] A Prague reader called and asked whether we could tell him if the document of the Vienna meeting will be published.

As was conveyed by the communique from the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session published in RUDE PRAVO on Saturday [4 February], "the full text of the final document (from the Vienna meeting) will be published in a mass print run". The final document from the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting amounts to roughly 80 pages of text. It will be published in Czech and Slovak with a print run of approximately 100,000 copies.

Persons Behind Bomb Threats Identified
LD1302204889 Prague CTK in English
1846 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Usti nad Labem, North Bohemia, Feb 13 (CTK)—Members of the public security force have identified a man who threatened to blow up a regional hospital here. He is 42-year-old Frantisek B. of Usti nad Labem and was placed in custody by the district prosecutor.

On Thursday February 9, the man telephoned the district office of the national security corps in Usti nad Labem and said that the regional hospital will be "blown up" the following day.

Similar anonymous telephone threats worried the people in several towns of the north Bohemian region in the past days. Thanks to earnest work of members of the public security force, other authors of these threats have been found out, too. For instance Vladimir F. from Liberec, born in 1973, announced the public security force on January 28 that a bomb had been placed in the Jested department store in Liberec. Zdenek S. of Jablonec nad Nisou, born in 1949, announced an explosion in a restaurant in Zasada near Jablonec on February 6.

Figures on Involvement in CEMA Program
AU0702112789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by Bohumil Danes, member of the staff of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development in Prague: "Involvement of Czechoslovak Organizations in the Comprehensive Program; Interest-Bearing Investments"]

[Excerpt] Any acceleration of the intensification of the Czechoslovak national economy primarily depends on the implementation of scientific and technical results in practice. That is why the party and state agencies in our country are devoting particular attention to the accomplishment of tasks following from the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000.

Our interest in fulfilling the comprehensive program is attested to by the growing number of organizations participating in our common work: Whereas only 256 organizations were involved in this work in 1986, by the beginning of last year their number had increased to more than 330. Today our collectives are involved in the

accomplishment of 610 out of the total of 1,389 tasks of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress; and in 45 tasks they are the coordinators for the CSSR.

These activities are part of the 5-year plan for our country's technical development. A total of Kcs15.6 billion have been set apart for the realization of the 105 points connected with the set of projects in the comprehensive program, and 30 percent of this amount is for work that is to begin in 1989-90. Other investments to the tune of Kcs8.8 billion will be used to increase the production volume to about Kcs37.9 billion over the course of 3 years. [passage omitted]

'Shadow Economy' Seen as 'Political' Problem

AU0802115189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
7 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Light Into the Shadow Economy"]

[Excerpts] There exist phenomena in our country that had not been spoken of until recently. It was precisely this circumstance that not only permitted their emergence, but also their growth and rapid development. One such phenomenon is the existence of the so-called second or shadow economy. [passage omitted]

The shadow economy today encompasses a wide spectrum of social life, is an important factor of income redistribution, and is a formidable political as well as economic danger to society. [passage omitted]

Because this second economy unfolds itself somewhere in the shadow, or even in total darkness, accurate data on it are not available. [passage omitted] According to estimates of the public opinion research institute, which operates under the Federal Bureau of Statistics in Prague, the sum paid out by our citizens in the form of bribes alone was in the range of kcs3-4 billion at the beginning of the eighties. According to citizens who have been surveyed, health services accounted for about one-half of this sum. In this connection it is interesting to note what followed the publication of another estimate on the payment of bribes for health services in Hospodarske Noviny: a protest by the minister of health and social affairs of the Czech SR and his demand that an apology be published....

We all feel the presence of the second economy; ignoring it would not solve problems but would only multiply them. The letters addressed to our editorial office testify to the payment of bribes in car repair shops, automobile sales outlets, for hotel accommodations, for an apartment, and so forth. He who wants to buy something in a Tuzex shop and has not worked abroad has no choice but to purchase Tuzex vouchers from a middleman. Given the current state of market supplies, you do not need an acquaintance, or to pay a bribe, just if you want to purchase a color television set, a freezer, and the like, but even if you want to buy clothing or shoes.... Almost every

household loses money as a result of these transfers, while, according to experts' estimates, only 3 percent of the population of working age profit from them. But the overwhelming majority of us are not losing just money. Confronted by these negative phenomena, citizens are losing their conviction concerning social justice in the socialist society, and the system of motivating people is upset.... What originally was an economic problem is thus becoming a political one!

We must not yield to illusions. The shadow economy also has its explicitly black side. This holds mainly true for the West, but drug trafficking, unlawful appropriation, and so forth have also partially increased in our country. This part of the shadow economy must and will also have to be suppressed by the use of repressive means and by education—in connection with drug abuse, for example. It is generally true, however, that the second economy must be fought with its own weapons—that is, by economic weapons. It is necessary to eliminate the causes of its emergence. [passage omitted]

For example, we can condemn and take legal action against the underhanded buying and selling of foreign currency, but it is hard to imagine that we will get rid of it without making the koruna's exchange rate vis-a-vis freely convertible currencies realistic, without the koruna becoming convertible. [passage omitted]

The shadow economy feeds on the problems of the official economy, whose fertile soil is disharmony between supply and demand. Bringing about a change in this regard—that is, achieving a situation in which supply and demand are in balance or in which supply exceeds demand—requires high-volume production of some merchandise, which also presupposes, next to the development of the international division of labor, a wide-ranging practical application of science and technology. Regrettably, as was also stated at the recent second meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee commission for science and technology, the enterprise sector still shows no hunger for the results of research and development. Aside from other factors, this is a result of the fact that, even after the increased levies on wages, the substitution of technology for human labor is not economically appealing enough for enterprises.

It is true that today we know that although the so-called big industry lies at the root of society's development, it is also essential to develop supplementary production in smaller organizations and to permit the development of services provided by individual citizens. A number of problems are manifested in this sphere—from fine-tuning the new regulations up to envy and lingering stereotypes in the way people think. Yet here, too, the situation is full of contradictions. While, on the one hand, one cannot agree with the argument that the activity of a citizen who earns his living by his own labor on the basis of permission to do so—by repairing shoes, for instance—is directed against socialism, on the other

hand one also cannot agree with the preferential treatment of some private entrepreneurs, compared to cooperatives or state enterprises. Such preferential treatment exists, for instance, with respect to the growing of vegetables or flowers. Whereas citizens are not subject to any limits on the consumption of fuel or energy, organizations are....

The shadow economy emerges and grows rampant where problems are not dealt with, where, figuratively speaking, there is no light. It is therefore necessary to "hold up a light to see it," to discuss problems frankly, and, above all, to tackle them.

Reshuffle in Central Trade Union Council Set
AU0602173689 Prague PRACE in Czech
3 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

["r"-signed report: "The Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Trade Union Council Met in Prague Yesterday; For a Higher Effectiveness of Educational Work"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Discussing Cadre Issues

The seventh plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council [URO] [held in Prague on 2 February] also discussed cadre issues.

In connection with his transfer to foreign service, Comrade **Villam Kozik** was released from the function of secretary, and member of the Presidium, the Secretariat,

and the URO. URO Chairman **Miroslav Zavadi** presented V. Kozik with the highest trade union award, the URO Special Commendation, sincerely thanked him for his work in URO bodies, and wished him success in his new field of activity.

Comrade **Vladislav Treska**, who was elected chairman of the Central Council of Cooperatives in January 1989, was released from the post of member of the URO Presidium. At their own request and for personal or work-related reasons, **Renata Sterclova**, **Norbert Pozar**, and **Vojtech Rasocha** were released from functions of URO members, and **Vaclav Moucha** and **Milada Palangova** from functions of URO candidate members. **Jaroslav Matejka** was recalled from the function of URO candidate member.

The seventh plenary session then elected by secret ballot as URO members and URO Presidium members **Rudolf Cerny**, chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Employees in Agriculture and the Foodstuffs Industry; **Julia Demitrovicova**, foreperson of the trade sector's Bratislava packaging enterprise; and **Valeria Dohanyosova**, leading desk officer [referent] of the defense formation of the East Slovak Dairies Kosice. The following were further selected by secret ballot as URO members: **Ondrej Bizup**, chairman of the Central Slovak Regional Trade Union Council; **Zdenek Cecava**, director of the Antonin Zapotocky Central School of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]; **Jaroslav Cisar**, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, Prague; **Antonin Mitych**, chairman of the North Moravian Regional Trade Union Council; and **Jana Mrazova**, the released chairwoman of the ROH Enterprise Committee of State Fisheries, Ceske Budejovice. [passage omitted]

Fischer Briefs Deputies on CSCE Talks
*LD1002161789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1318 GMT 10 Feb 89*

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Under the leadership of its chairman, Hermann Axen, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber met on Friday. GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer informed the deputies on the results of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. This meeting, the minister underlined, had assigned a firm place in the CSCE process to disarmament questions with negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence and security-building measures. It is, therefore, above all a matter of genuine reductions guaranteeing a stable and secure balance of armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals at a lower level.

The significant, unilateral, prior concessions of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states are securing a good start for the Warsaw Pact. Unfortunately, one cannot say this of the recently known activities of the Western side, Oskar Fischer noted. He thereby pointed to the discovery of the FRG plans to build its own attack missiles, the forced temporary halting of which cannot, in truth, be described as a prior concession. The minister underlined that reductions such as those undertaken by the GDR, for example, would be genuine prior concessions from the FRG.

The GDR affirmed its readiness to negotiate on the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and positions itself resolutely against the modernization of nuclear and conventional weapons as practiced by NATO.

Much of what was written down in the concluding document of the Vienna meeting is already in practice in the GDR, the deputies noted. At the same time the GDR will work cooperatively, conscious of its responsibility, at the further deepening of cooperation between the participant states. It will take up what has been agreed in the framework of its national legislature.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer praised the efforts of numerous states and of the UN secretary general to find political and thereby peaceful settlements to international and regional conflicts.

The deputies greeted in this connection, above all, the developments being registered in the Near East and in Southern Africa. The minister stressed that the GDR will use its possibilities in the future as well for the promotion of a peaceful settlement to the conflict in the Near East. It supports all steps to guarantee the Palestinian people their legitimate rights and to enable the Israeli people to live in peace and in secure borders. In this connection the PLO has set out realistic proposals to Israel which are oriented toward the beginning of a political settlement process. A Near East conference

under UN auspices, with equal participation of all sides affected, including the PLO and Israel, as well as the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, would be suitable for this.

The deputies also discussed the safeguarding of peace and security in Southern Africa. The strict implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 and the honoring of the agreement between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa are a door leading to the independence of Namibia and to the political solution of the conflict in this region. The GDR will in the future as well be a reliable partner of the Namibian people on the complicated path toward full sovereignty. It has offered its active support in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

At the conclusion of the discussion Hermann Axen noted that the change in international relations is reflected in the variety and complexity of the questions dealt with. The peace program of the socialist states and the far-reaching initiatives of the GDR are an important contribution to the consolidation and further progress of this trend.

Kessler Addresses Leading Cadres in Berlin
*AU1302140189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 2*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of National Defense, spoke about current military policy issues at the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute of the SED Central Committee on Friday [10 February]. Before leading SED cadres from state and the industry, he paid tribute to the unilateral disarmament steps taken by the Warsaw Pact countries and the comparison of forces submitted by them as important contributions toward peace and disarmament in Europe. He said that this also applies to the decision announced by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to reduce the National People's Army and the GDR's defense expenditures. He said that in keeping with the special responsibility on the sensitive border between imperialism and socialism, this unilateral step proves the sincerity and predictability of socialist foreign, security, and military policies.

Heinz Kessler stressed that the nations rightly expect NATO politicians and military officials to make substantial contributions to reducing their offensive potential while respecting the real balance of forces. The appeal to forego any attempts to get around the intermediate-range missile agreement and to plan similar disarmament measures for its armed forces is particularly addressed to the FRG Government, he said. The Defense Minister stressed that the members of the National People's Army are currently making major efforts to further emphasize the armed forces' defensive nature. They are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and

the 12th SED Congress with high performance in political and combat training, he said. He stressed that for the people's soldiers, military service is peace service.

In talks in the central institute, Army General Heinz Kessler informed himself about problems related to research and theory regarding the enforcement of the SED's economic strategy. Director Professor Helmut Koziol, SED Central Committee member, reported that the institute's work is aimed in particular at the tasks that result from the complex management of technical, economic, and social processes in combines and enterprises in the broad application of key technologies.

Defense Minister Kessler Issues Order of Day
AU1302153689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of National Defense, issued an order of the day on the 31st anniversary of the civil defense organization. In this order, he thanks the members and voluntary helpers for their responsibility and great dedication in preventing and resolutely combating the consequences of accidents and disasters. "Under the leadership of the party of the workers class, you are actively helping to fulfill the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress," he says. He adds that they have made their contribution to ensuring that the citizens of the GDR can live in security and safety, and that enterprises and facilities are protected from serious damage. The yardstick for the efficiency of the civil defense organization is its readiness and ability at all times to protect the people's lives and property, and to guarantee a high level of production security and reliable supplies.

The Defense Minister expressed his conviction that precisely in the 40th year of the GDR's existence, in the preparation of local elections, and on the road to the 12th SED Congress, the members and voluntary helpers will do everything in their power to ensure that all public, economic, and social spheres of the citizens' lives will be protected, and that the working people's property will be protected from damage and will increase in peace.

GDR-FRG Symposium Discusses Disarmament
AU1302120389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The two German states' historic responsibility for furthering disarmament and detente in Europe was discussed at a 3-day symposium in the Gustav Heinemann Academy in Freudenberg, FRG, in which scientists from the GDR and the FRG took part. In the concluding panel discussion on Friday [10 February], historians from both countries advocated the development of reliable and stable relations between the GDR and the FRG. The meeting, which was organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, dealt with some aspects of realpolitik from the Bismarck Reich until today.

Springer Press 'Becoming' FRG Intelligence Organ
LD1302115589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1037 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—The readers of 'WELT', published by the Springer concern, have been able to note recently that the paper has become increasingly the organ of the Federal Intelligence Service [BND] which manufactures one secret document after the other. The purpose is to disorientate the federal government about the continuation of German-German developments. This includes the fairy tale published by 'WELT AM SONNTAG' according to which over 1.5 million GDR citizens want to emigrate. In view of such lack of imagination in fabricating forged news the FRG Government might just as well cut the funds for the Federal Intelligence Service.

Cooperation With USSR, Common Interests Stressed
AU1302180789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial by "DB": "The Common Road To the New Millennium"]

[Text] In Moscow this week a document was signed which is very important politically as well as economically. Our republic and the Soviet Union have agreed on a concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up until the year 2000. The basic principles regarding deepening the division of labor between the two countries are laid down in this document. The principal objective is to increase the efficiency of production and to accelerate the speed in science and technology.

Together we thereby create a stable basis for further improving the living standard in our country, as well as in the Soviet Union. The concept is not just a declaration of intent. That is illustrated by the tasks that reach far into the future for deepening specialization and cooperation in research, development, and production, of developing direct relations, and of setting up joint enterprises, research collectives, and design offices.

This document is another concrete result of the agreements achieved by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in September last year. They opened a new chapter in relations between the GDR and the USSR.

The large GDR exhibition on the Moskva River in the fall of 1988 illustrated what economic and scientific-technological potential our republic can bring into cooperation. Thanks to our economic strategy, we can offer results in the struggle for international top performance, that constitute a solid basis for the closest interdependence with the Soviet Union's economic power. That is also why, following a visit to our exhibition, Mikhail Gorbachev said in a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND interview: "Let us deepen our cooperation. The opportunities

to do so are considerable. I think that both the USSR and the GDR leadership want this cooperation to adopt new forms and head for new shores."

The concept that has now been signed corresponds to this will. It intensifies our fraternal alliance even more, and it contributes to closing our ranks even more and to strengthening the positions of socialism. The Soviet Union was, is, and remains our main partner. The dimensions of our cooperation are unique in the world. We are proud of that. That is a fact that no one can alter.

For those who like to call the prospects of socialism into question, and who at the same time are so anxious to construe antagonisms between us and the Soviet Union, or generally divide the world of socialism, the news from Moscow was a bitter disappointment, however. What was agreed there up until the year 2000, not only documents economic cooperation, but also corroborates clear political and ideological positions: Our party and our people back the CPSU's course for the development in the Soviet Union, as laid down in the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress. Lenin's party and the Soviet people back our party's policy for strengthening socialism on German soil, which was adopted at the 11th party congress.

That is the basis of our community. Nothing will change about it—neither tomorrow nor on the road into the new millennium. Only one thing will change: the rate at which we will advance, and the benefit that we will achieve jointly and for each other. Both will grow, for the benefit of the people in both countries.

Spokesman On Support to End Afghan Conflict
LD1302174589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1643 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today GDR Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, expressed great concern at the continuing bloodshed in Afghanistan to which many innocent people are falling victim. The GDR supports an immediate ending of all armed conflict in Afghanistan. For this reason it welcomes the position contained in the latest Soviet-Pakistani statement to the effect that the military path can only worsen the situation in Afghanistan and in which a political solution is called for.

The planned withdrawal of the Soviet troops contingent from Afghanistan underlines the committed and comprehensive fulfillment by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan of the Geneva Afghanistan Agreement of 14 April 1988. Now all sides are called on to promote steps directed toward a speedy political settlement of the conflict and the formation of a broadly based government. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly announced its readiness for talks to this end. In order to restore a stable peace in Afghanistan it is

a matter of finding a political compromise acceptable to all the sides involved which would make it possible for the Afghans themselves to determine their fate without outside interference.

The GDR hopes that realism and reason will finally gain the upper hand.

Honecker, Stoph Greet Iranian Leaders
AU1302170189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On the 10th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent congratulatory telegrams to Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini and to Hojjat ol-Eslam Sayyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Erich Honecker expressed the conviction that the further development of mutually beneficial relations between the GDR and Iran will contribute to making the positive trends in international relations irreversible and to making world peace more secure.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent greetings and congratulations to Iran's Prime Minister Mir Husayn Musavi.

Bribes Reportedly Paid for Exit Visas
AU1302132089 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG
in German 12 Feb 89 p 2

[Heinz Vielain report: "Federal Intelligence Service: "Corruption in Connection With Exit Visa Applications in the GDR"]

[Text] In its most recent report to Chancellor Kohl, the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) listed cases of corruption in connection with the granting of exit visas to GDR citizens who want to emigrate to the FRG.

The following was the most spectacular case contained in the BND report: A well-off FRG citizen wanted to get his bride out of the GDR. After he had paid a bribe of DM100,000 in Zwickau, his fiancée was permitted to leave the GDR.

An engineer in Berlin-Koepenick was informed by the emigration authorities that he could choose the point of time when he wanted to emigrate to the FRG against the payment of DM20,000.

The BND knows of several cases of bribery involving preferential treatment of applications for emigration if the applicants were willing to offer their cars or other objects to the respective employees at special prices.

According to the report, the BND has the following details concerning the up to 1.5 million GDR citizens who want to emigrate to the FRG:

In Dresden an additional 55,000 to 70,000 GDR citizens want to leave the GDR, in Goerlitz 8,000 to 10,000, and in Seiffenhensdorf 800. In Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) about 35,000 GDR citizens plan to emigrate, in Plauen Kreis 15,000, in Freiburg 6,000, in Werdau Kreis 2,100, and in Zwickau about 6,000.

A total of 5,000 citizens want to emigrate from Gera, some 4,000 from Bad Blankenburg, 3,000 from Saalfeld, and about 1,500 from Pörsneck Kreis. In Jena 6,000 to 10,000 citizens have applied for exit visas. In the town of Halle and in Halle-Neustadt Bezirk 10 percent of the population want to emigrate. This corresponds to about 40,000 persons. In East Berlin some 80,000 persons plan to leave for the FRG. In Leipzig Bezirk about 50,000 applications for exit visas have been submitted.

The BND stresses in its report that the extraordinarily high number of resettlers from the GDR (40,000 GDR citizens came to the FRG last year) created the incorrect impression that East Berlin has relaxed its restrictions. As a matter of fact, exit permits were primarily granted to persons who had handed in their applications 2 or more years ago. An increasing number of fresh applications are being rejected. At some offices, the rate of rejections has reached 100 percent, at others between 80 and 90 percent.

The BND report speaks of increasing reprisals against exit-visa seekers. Many lose their jobs and only find employment as cleaning personnel in hospitals or as warehouse workers. The BND report contains examples of what happened to persons who submitted an application for emigration:

A teacher, for example, was systematically treated in a contemptuous manner in front of her pupils by her superior. The class was no longer allowed to talk to her. In another case, the son of an applicant was regularly beaten up by his classmates.

According to the BND report, exist-visa seekers are increasingly willing to demonstrate publicly for their cause and to risk being imposed fines or being imprisoned. Badges and stickers carrying an "A" for resettler [Aussiedler] can increasingly be noticed. According to the report, security forces have responded with particular annoyance to ribbons of various colors which were demonstratively attached to car antennas. The color refers to the current situation of the respective exit-visa seeker, with white meaning that his application has been submitted, black meaning that his application has been finally rejected, and red meaning that his application has been granted. The GDR authorities have reacted with threats to withdraw driving licenses and to impose administrative fines of up to M1,000.

Details on Raising of Export Charges

AU0902092389 Vienna *DIE PRESSE* in German
9 Feb 89 p 10

[Text] Berlin (APA)—The GDR has drastically raised export duties on exports during tourist travel. While duties have amounted to 10 to 20 percent of the goods' value so far, they now amount to 100 to 200 percent.

A 100-percent charge is levied on the export of, for instance, alcoholic beverages, textiles, household appliances, bicycles, electrical appliances, and records. As much as 200 percent is levied on musical instruments and essential and nonessential foods and beverages. Particularly painful for many tourists from the West will be the 200-percent duty on technical books, which are very popular.

FDJ's Aurich Meets Official of Lenin Komsomol

AU1102163789 East Berlin *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*
in German 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, met with Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Lenin Komsomol and member of the Bureau of the Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, who is paying a friendly visit to the GDR's capital city at the invitation of the Berlin Bezirk FDJ leadership. Referring to Erich Honecker's interview to *JUNGE WELT*, Eberhard Aurich explained to his guest the principles of the SED's youth policy and the ideological work of the youth association. Stanislaw Smirnow stressed that the Moscow Komsomol Organization, too, wants to give all young people clear ideas of the nature of socialism and to work with its own initiatives for the interests of the youth. Currently ideas are being considered on how the Komsomol—also relying on the experiences of the "Berlin FDJ Initiative"—could participate in the renovation of Moscow and thus help to solve the housing problem of young people.

FRG Lawyers' Association President Visits

AU1302170089 East Berlin *NATIONAL-ZEITUNG*
in German 11-12 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Bonn (ADN/NZ)—Erhard Senninger, president of the FRG's German Lawyers' Association (DAV), assessed the course and result of the first visit of a DAV delegation to the GDR as positive. Talking to journalists in Bonn, he said that the atmosphere at the talks with the GDR Jurists Association and representatives of the Council of GDR Lawyers' Collegiums in mid-January was very good, and it was possible to discuss all questions openly. It is planned to continue the contacts with the lawyers in the GDR and to gradually expand them further.

The DAV president clearly stated that contacts with the jurists and lawyers of the GDR are adversely affected by the existence of the Salzgitter Registration Office. Financial support for the Registration Office should be stopped, he said.

Dresden Memorial Services 'Tolerated'
LD1402111889 Hamburg DPA in German
0926 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Dresden (DPA)—After church services late Monday evening in Dresden, several thousand people marched silently to the ruins of the Church of Our Lady in memory of the victims of the bombing night 44 years ago. At an ecumenical prayer in the Church of the Cross, which was filled to capacity with some 5,000 people, it was stated that there often prevailed in the GDR an atmosphere "that produces fear."

The majority of the crowd stood in silence in front of the nearby church ruins, where every year on 13 February wreaths and flower arrangements are laid and hundreds of candles lit. Several groups of people sang.

Security forces snatched from young people a banner that called for human rights in connection with the CSCE resolutions. In the afternoon at a state peace rally

marking the night of the bombing a placard was confiscated which spoke out against the military nature of state celebrations. "No parade marking the day of the republic," the placard read.

Church services also pointed to the need for internal peace in the country, in addition to the need for preserving peace and for further disarmament steps. The state authorities were asked to show more tolerance in their dealings with those who think differently.

In the Church of St. Luke eyewitnesses described personal experiences from World War II, as well as the air attacks and the bombing of Dresden during the night 13-14 February 1945, which killed at least 35,000 people. All church bells in Dresden were rung at 2145, which was when the air attack began.

In addition, this year's vigil at the ruins of the Church of Our Lady continued until after midnight. The state authorities tolerated silent marches through the city center and crowds at the ruins. Police and other security forces were posted on the steps leading to the nearby transport museum. Three hundred people demonstrated here last year demanding exit visas and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.

'Excerpts' of Grosz Central Committee Speech
LD1302162488 Budapest MTI in English
0015 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—The Monday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG", the central daily of the HSWP, carries in full the speech delivered by General Secretary Karoly Grosz at the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee on February 10 and 11.

In the following, we carry excerpts from the speech, and shall carry it in a more detailed form during the day.

Discussing the tasks of the Central Committee session, Mr Grosz said, among others: 'We have arrived at another major stage in the development of the political institutions. We have to take a stand with respect to the creation of the multi-party system, and have to decide on the schedule of the major tasks to be realized by the 14th congress.'

With respect to the country's internal situation, Mr Grosz noted:

'We are living through another, temporarily even more tense phase of the economic and political crisis that has lasted for some time... what is this crisis apparent in today? Mainly in the deterioration of the living standard. 1988 was the first year over many decades when the consumption of the population declined in spite of greater production... Both the party members and the public are dissatisfied with the hitherto results of the period since the party conference... Among the reasons is that the party movement was overly occupied with its internal affairs, it turned energy to the organization of party conferences, and in the meanwhile failed to firmly and initiatingly enough join into the genuine processes of politics of society, of the country... One of the reasons of the crisis is the rapid pace of the economic and political reform processes.'

'It is dangerous and harmful if the structural transformation of economy, the handling of the tremendous debt stock falls out of the focus of attention, and if the streamlining of the political institutions does not serve the solution of the above, but rather weakens it... And finally: The reasons of the deepening crisis can be traced back to the inciting conduct of the extremist elements of the opposition alternative organizations...'

'... Can we underestimate the extremist forces of the opposition organizations? No, but neither can we over-evaluate them. We turn our attention to those forces of the organizations now being set up which wish to create...'

In the following, Mr Grosz emphasized:

'The demand to safeguard order and security, political stability is tangible on social scales. The overwhelming majority of the people are anxious for the socialist

system, the results attained, our international authority. Many have come to recognize they could lose everything in an unmanageable, anarchic state...'

The general secretary of the HSWP also dealt with the creation of the multi-party system, which he termed as a realistic demand.

'... A party that starts out from realities should reckon with this social demand. Therefore, we should not take a stand against the multi-party system, but should rather consider how the process of creating a multi-party system can be influenced, and what we should do for the HSWP to be able to preserve its leading role also amidst the conditions of a multi-party system... It is my conviction, that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will be capable of safeguarding its leading role amidst the agreement between the parties, and then amidst the relations of open competition...', said, among others, HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, in his speech made at the February 10-11 session of the Central Committee.

'Model' Relations With Austria Previewed
LD0702220289 Budapest MTI in English
2047 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Hungaro-Austrian relations are most frequently characterized as 'special', 'model' or 'of international importance' in both East and West. The good-neighbourly relationship between the two countries is a good illustration of the fact that two states travelling on various roads of social development may get, with common will, from peaceful co-existence to peaceful cooperation.

In keeping with traditions, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky are scheduled to hold a working meeting near the border in mid-February. The two government heads are to hold talks with limited attendance at Nagycenk and Rust, Burgenland. This will be Mr Nemeth's first visit abroad as prime minister.

The talks are expected to focus on economic issues. The past two years have witnessed a major drop in bilateral trade. The record turnover of 17,700 million forints registered in 1985 decreased by 18.2 per cent in 1986, and by a further 11.4 per cent in 1987. The drop was due to the fact that Hungary used up the Austrian tourism loan of 300 million dollars in 1985 and imposed restrictions on imports. Hungarian analysts say that access to the Hungarian goods market and its competitiveness also deteriorated because of Austrian trade policy barriers. In 1988, the Austrian side showed flexibility towards Hungarian comments, and on July 1, extended its general tax preference system to Hungary as well.

Austria's approaches to the European Economic Community, a key issue for the future of Hungaro-Austrian ties, will also be discussed at the meeting. The Hungarian position is that it cannot hinder the development of our exemplary relations.

The government heads may well establish that cultural ties have developed dynamically. As a sign of intensive direct relations between the two peoples, last year 3,844,000 Austrian tourists visited Hungary, 17.8 per cent more than a year before, and 2,971,000 Hungarians travelled to Austria.

Nemeth, Austria's Vranitzky Meet 13 Feb
LD1302190389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] [Presenter] A meeting between two premiers was held today on both sides of the Austrian-Hungarian border—that is, Miklos Nemeth and Franz Vranitzky met in Nagycenk and in Rust, in Burgenland. Our special correspondent Andras Domany reports:

[Domany] Encouragement, agreement, sympathy—indeed, solicitous sympathy—such expressions were heard from the Austrian side in connection with the Hungarian political and economic reforms. The events of the past weeks were given considerable attention at today's meeting between the Hungarian and Austrian premiers, the main goal of which was for the two politicians to become personally acquainted with one another and to have an informal conversation.

Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived at 1000 at the Szechenyi country house in Nagycenk, where, after a brief museum visit, he sat at the negotiating table with his counterpart, Premier Miklos Nemeth. After lunch the meeting continued on the Austrian side of the border in the small town of Rust, by Lake Fertod, in the Lake Hotel, from where I am giving my report. There was also a brief sightseeing tour and visit to the wine cellars, and the two politicians also met the press twice during the day.

It was partly by chance that the Austrian head of government became the first foreign politician to receive personal information from an MSZMP Politburo member concerning the weekend Central Committee session. It is understandable that for the most part the journalists' questions pertained to topical Hungarian affairs.

Miklos Nemeth said that the objective is that the assessment of the past should help consensus; it should not divide society. Much scientific work is still necessary, for example, in evaluating the person of Imre Nagy as well. However, it can now be said that, I quote, he was not a born counterrevolutionary. Moreover, it is the enormous responsibility of the MSZMP to adequately prepare itself for a new style, for a multiparty system, based on genuine competition. A peaceful transition must be

created, with joint responsibility with other organizations. If, after this, the MSZMP is the loser in the contest—someone asked about this—it would then be the only party that could do anything about this.

Naturally, alongside these weighty topics, bilateral relations figured in the center of the talks, because, as Premier Miklos Nemeth said, Austria is for us not one country among the many. Rather, it is a friendly, neighboring country. For example, there was talk of the obstacles impeding the growth of trade, and the stands, perhaps, came somewhat closer. This was also sensed from the comments made several times by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, although no agreement was reached.

In the same manner, the Hungarian stand was outlined to the effect that it would be good if, similar to Austrian enterprises operating in Hungary, Hungarian workers could more easily obtain work permits in Austria.

The creation of five new border crossing points was also discussed. Of these, two will be in Burgenland. The abolition of the electronic border controls [mueszaki hatarzar] by the early nineties was also discussed. This would be carried out by that time due to certain technical and organizational conditions for this.

The two premiers discussed preparations for the joint international exhibition, again expressing the intention that it must be a profitable undertaking and that anything constructed must be utilized later. This of course does not merely pertain to the railway line, roads, and so forth, but also to buildings. It is an interesting new item of detail that the Hungarian Government commissioner, who will be appointed later, will be assisted by an Austrian deputy, and that the Austrian one will be assisted by a Hungarian deputy.

Will Hungary join EFTA? That was one question, and here is Miklos Nemeth's reply: This would not contradict Hungary's open foreign economic policy, and because of this, Trade Minister Tamas Beck has just spoken about this as a possibility. In principle, it is not precluded, yet there is no kind of decision on this.

The Hungarian premier was also asked about the stand of Soviet Academician Bogomolov, according to which, as the Hungarian newspapers also reported, Hungary could also be a neutral state. Miklos Nemeth stated that our country believes in reducing armaments in all parts of the world. What the Soviet scholar stated in the interview was not an official Soviet opinion, but it is also worthwhile to ponder over this.

The day passed in a pleasant, friendly atmosphere for the two premiers, both of whom are economic experts. During unofficial moments they spoke in English, without interpreters.

The atmosphere between the accompanying experts and journalists was similarly outstanding, as is virtually customary at Hungarian-Austrian meetings. The signing of agreements did not even figure in the work plan of the meeting. However, the wide-ranging exchange of views was bountifully fulfilled.

Premier Miklos Nemeth and his entourage will leave Austria for Hungary later today.

Nemeth, Vranitzky News Conference
LD1302215289 Budapest MTI in English
1700 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Nagycenk, February 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Austrian federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky held a press conference at Nagycenk, western Hungary, Monday afternoon.

Mr Nemeth said that with the large number of topics, their consultation lasted longer than planned. The talks proved again that Hungary is not one country among many for Austria but a friendly neighbour state, with historical, political, economic and social links. These talks showed that the events in Hungary are followed with keen attention in Austria. The sides gave briefs on the internal situation of their countries, held talks on bilateral relations, and briefly discussed international affairs. They expressed the importance of the role played by Austria and Hungary in fostering relations in central Europe between the two differing social systems. This role of a bridge is not only of benefit to the two countries, but also to the peoples of Europe and the world at large.

We wish to have this role in cooperation rather than competition, the Hungarian prime minister said.

Mr Vranitzky expressed the view that the Hungarian leadership is continuing political and economic reforms with impetus. The chancellor said they discussed some important practical issues of strengthening bilateral relations, such as the development of bilateral trade, facilitation of the implement of Hungarians in Austria, the creation of a joint national park, and the development of tourism.

The chancellor informed his counterpart of Austrian preparations for the planned world exhibition. He said the sides agreed if the two countries would be granted the right to host the world exhibition, they would set up an Austro-Hungarian organization to coordinate cooperation.

In reply to questions, Mr Nemeth said that the government would present a report on preparations for the world exhibition to the next session of parliament.

Concerning the recent session of the HSWP Central Committee, a West German journalist asked whether it was conceivable for the HSWP to rehabilitate Imre Nagy, and share power with other parties in the 1990 general elections.

Mr Nemeth stressed that the evaluation of the tragic events of 1956, which prevailed in the past three decades, is now not one-sided in the light of the report of the working committee of the Central Committee. The prime minister pointed out that the CC's [Central Committee] evaluation had not yet been completed, and held further research and consideration of the international conditions of the time necessary. 'It would be desirable for the evaluation of the past not to divide society, and to come to an agreement and narrow the gap between the party's evaluation and the general evaluation,' Mr Nemeth said.

He said that since there was much to do in the evaluation of the past, and it could not yet be said when and to what extent the prevailing position concerning Imre Nagy's activity would change. When there is further information, this issue will also be put on the agenda.

Mr Nemeth stressed that a genuine multi-party system serving the benefit of the country could only be created if agreement was reached with the emerging parties on the schedule and content of peaceful transition.

A Greek journalist asked whether the CC session had strengthened unity within the leadership or differences in opinions. Mr Nemeth said that the period of sham unity in the leadership had passed. In home policy, emphasis should be laid on issues on which the leadership holds a uniform standpoint. Such issues include the establishment of an independent, democratic constitutional state, the creation of a market economy with mixed ownership, and the replacement of the Stalinist model by a new model.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky again met the press at Rust, Monday evening.

On Hungary's eventual membership in EFTA, Mr Nemeth said: The government passed a conceptual decision on a world economic opening and Hungary should strive for mutually beneficial relations with European integrations and their particular member states. In principle, discussion of such a proposal cannot be excluded.

Both the Austrian and the Hungarian press have reported that Soviet Academician Oleg Bogomolov held it conceivable for Hungary to take neutral status like Austria. Asked about the Hungarian position, Mr Nemeth said:

Hungary, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA, takes a stand for eliminating the military blocks within a foreseeable period of time, so that inter-state relations [in] Europe should be determined by the development of political, economic and cultural ties. If the tenet that the military blocks will be eliminated becomes true, all states of the Warsaw Treaty will reach a certain

status of neutrality, although through different ways. Although Academician Bogomolov's statement is not considered the official Soviet standpoint, the idea is worth discussion, he said.

Asked whether the recent law on business associations increased the interest of Austrian investors in Hungary, Mr Vranitzky said that cooperation is expected to intensify in the next few years. It would be necessary to introduce the convertibility of the forint, he added. Quoting the Hungarian prime minister, he said that in the years to come it would be a chief aim of Hungary's economic reform to create a convertible forint. The Hungarian prime minister added that Hungary now seeks to create the pre-conditions for at least the external convertibility of forint, which would be put on the agenda in the middle or the second half of the nineties.

After the press conference, the heads of government and their entourages went for a short walk in Rust, then Franz Vranitzky gave a dinner in Mr Nemeth's honour.

The Hungarian prime minister returned from Austria late in the evening.

Nemeth Discusses Talks

LD1302222189 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by unidentified reporter; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The most important news of the day for us is that Premier Miklos Nemeth and Austrian federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky have held a 1-day working meeting near the border. [passage omitted]

Naturally, political questions came up at the meeting of the premiers. The two heads of government were asked about these questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] You were rather bombarded here by questions relating to the Central Committee meeting and 1956. We also know that the Austrian press evaluates this in a certain way. How does the Austrian leadership evaluate this?

[Nemeth] The Austrian leadership received with great delight the decision that was published in today's morning papers. Thus, as the chancellor moves in the direction of a consensus. He said that they are very much hoping that Hungary will further the reform process which we have started, both in the political and economic spheres. He added that we should progress step by step with great patience and stamina, and we should be very careful that our reliability, trustworthiness, and the preservation of our internal political stability are not impaired.

[Reporter] What if these are impaired?

[Nemeth] An unpredictable partner is not desirable in this shared European house. And if such a partner appears, for whatever reason, it would lead to the slowing down of the processes. And it is in the interest of both Austria and Hungary, and Europe, too, that Hungary should continue to be a trustworthy and predictable partner in the future.

[Reporter] So, they prefer the step-by-step progress, wise and careful reforms, in which I think the Austrians have some experience. Am, I right?

[Nemeth] Yes, you understand it well. Essentially, he advised that we advance on the road to reform not haltingly and with stoppages, but decisively, with due wisdom, and weighing the conditions from every angle.

[Reporter] Thank you for the interview. [end recording]

[Announcer] To the question: "How does the Austrian chancellor evaluate today's meeting," Franz Vranitzky replied that Miklos Nemeth was the third Hungarian premier he had met. The meeting is free of protocol and served the fundamental interests of the two countries. He added that at the talks the Austrian labor minister had made concrete proposals on how would it be possible to facilitate the employment of Hungarian citizens in Austria.

SZOT Head Nagy Meets Austrian Counterpart
LD0302221689 Budapest MTI in English
2013 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Vienna, February 3 (MTI)—The Secretariat of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and the Secretariat of the Austrian Trade Union Federation (OGB) held a working meeting in Vienna on Friday [3 February].

OGB President Fritz Verzetnitsch gave a brief on the changes that took place in Austrian political and economic life in 1988 and their effect on the trade unions, and the results and tasks of the trade union movement. SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy presented the development of the Hungarian social, political and economic situation, and the main tasks of trade union interest protection activity.

The two secretaries held consultations on the content and forms of high-level interest coordination, the responsibility of the trade unions accepted in the course of interest coordination, on the effects of economic restructuring on employment and the arising trade union tasks. They exchanged views on how the trade unions can participate in the European integration processes, and their tasks in the interest protection of workers of joint ventures operating with the involvement of foreign capital. They agreed that should Vienna and Budapest receive the organizational rights of the world exhibition, the trade unions should participate in the shaping of the related decisions and the work involved.

Trade Minister Beck Holds Talks in FRG
LD0702220589 Budapest MTI in English
1952 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, February 7 (MTI)—On Tuesday [7 February], Tamas Beck, Hungarian minister of trade, on a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, met, in Bonn, Dieter von Wurzen, state secretary of the Federal Ministry of Economics, and Siegfried Mann, director-general of the Federation of German Industry.

Mr Beck informed his partners about Hungary's economic development and efforts to continue the reform process. He stressed the significance of joint ventures and the recent law on business associations, which provided favourable conditions for the expansion of contacts between Hungarian and West German firms, for the use of advanced technology and management methods in Hungary, and for the investment of working capital in Hungary. Mr Beck outlined the concrete cooperation proposals of around 50 Hungarian firms.

In the evening, the minister of trade delivered a brief lecture to 100 representatives of political and economic life of the FRG at a Hungarian Embassy reception.

On Wednesday, Mr Beck is scheduled to hold talks in Munich.

Interviewed by Radio Free Europe
LD1002222689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Trade Minister Tamas Beck has ended his commercial talks in the FRG. His last visit was to Munich, and he is the first Hungarian official to give an interview to Radio Free Europe in Hamburg. It is thus understandable that Budapest radio correspondent Pal Emod began his interview with Tamas Beck at Ferihegy airport with a question relating to this. The interview took place 90 minutes ago.

[Begin recording] [Emod] Good evening, Mr Minister. A few hours ago you gave a statement to Radio Free Europe. Could you please tell me who authorized you to do this?

[Beck] I asked our ambassador what our stand was concerning Radio Free Europe, and because I learned that we are in agreement and at peace, I naturally gave a statement. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Announces Intention To Join EFTA
AU1002122689 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Trade Minister Beck announced that Hungary wants to join EFTA. The minister said that this first step is intended to move closer to European integration. Moreover, Hungary wants to intensify contacts with the

EC. Hungary is the first CEMA member state to conclude an agreement with the EC. Hungary's hoped-for membership in EFTA will probably be discussed at the meeting between Premier Nemeth and Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky next Monday [13 February] in Sopron. Austria is a member of EFTA.

Marosan Denies EFTA Aspirations
AU1102192089 Vienna Television Service
in German 1830 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Interview with Hungarian Government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan by ORF correspondent Karl Stipsicz in Budapest on 11 February—recorded in Hungarian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Stipsicz] Mr Marosan, recently—a few days ago—the Hungarian trade minister said that Hungary would perhaps like to join EFTA. Was this a coincidence, or does the Hungarian Government have a corresponding concept?

[Marosan] I do not know the details of the trade minister's statements; I suppose there has been a misunderstanding. The question about joining EFTA was certainly posed, but the answer is based on the Hungarian Government's attitude that our trade policy basically envisages closer ties with all economic communities. We live side by side and, therefore, we want to improve relations in all fields. Joining EFTA is not realistic today. It is much more important to keep pace with developments in Western Europe.

[Stipsicz] If the question concerning closer ties with EFTA eventually does come up, what will Austria's role be, in your opinion?

[Marosan] If the possibility or the concrete question of joining EFTA arises, I think that our close relations with Austria can be very helpful, but I stress that the issue is not topical at present.

[Stipsicz] And when will this question arise?

[Marosan] I do not know; a government spokesman is not a prophet.

USSR's Bogomolov on Changes in Bloc
LD0802231489 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] All the socialist countries are undergoing, in one way or another, a stage of renewal, a watershed period that has been evoked by the economic, social, and political problems that have accumulated. This has served as a pretext for many Western observers to speak of a crisis in socialism. An answer was given to the authors of such commentaries during a thorough discussion on 8 February at the USSR Foreign Ministry press

center between Academician Bogomolov, head of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System under the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Soviet and foreign journalists.

Evidently a crisis is occurring, the scientist stated. Yet it is not a crisis in socialism and its ideals, but rather a crisis in the Stalinist embodiment of those ideals. Stalinism, as a specific form of social organization, has turned out to be incapable of withstanding the challenges of time, or of solving the ripe problems of social and economic progress. It is known that the Stalinist model for the economy and social organization was uncritically lent to or imposed upon many countries that had chosen the road of socialist development. Thus, the requirement of restructuring has objectively appeared not only in the Soviet Union, but also in other socialist countries, although this is not always realized at one and the same time by the leaders of those countries.

The transformations that have ripened, stressed the academician, have evoked an active quest by scientists for a new model of socialism appropriate to the contemporary era with its scientific-technical achievements, with the new level of knowledge in society, and with the requirement for democratizing social life and international relations. However, the model for renewed socialism and its economy, stated Bogomolov, has not yet been formed. It remains a subject of discussions that are at times even fairly sharp. Anyway, he said, having destroyed the old model, we are thus in no hurry to put a new model on a pedestal for praise.

Discusses Austria-Type Hungary

LD0802231589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] According to a renowned Soviet scientist, Hungary could remain a member of the Warsaw Pact even if a political system similar to that of Austria or Sweden were to come into effect. Academician Bogomolov expounded this as a hypothesis at his news conference. He said that it would not represent a danger if, in Hungary, there were to take place political and economic changes so profound that they would result in a Western-style bourgeois democracy.

Speaking about socialism, he said that while the new social model has not yet come into being, it is certain that it is rather the self-regulation of the market, the pluralism of interests, and a political direction that has a rather orienting nature, which could be the main characteristics of the future.

He noted the fact that today in certain socialist countries several parties exist does not count as real political pluralism. This is because these parties function alongside the Communist Party, and thus they are condemned [karhoztatva] to the role of second fiddle.

Academician Bogomolov also said that in the Soviet Union the introduction of the multiparty system is not on the agenda, although theoretical research is under way on this topic.

Soviet PRAVDA Article on 1956 Debate Noted LD1102213289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The events of 1956 can only be evaluated objectively in Hungary if the participants in the present debate return from the barricades and, instead of settling old grievances and contradictions, calmly analyze the things that happened on the basis of the facts.

This was written by PRAVDA's Budapest correspondent in connection with the reevaluation of the 1956 events.

All this has implications for the Soviet Union, implications that are not merely theoretical but very much practical. In so far as 1956 was a popular uprising, then the Soviet troops that entered at the request of the Kadar government after 4 November, crushed [vertek le] the protest action of Hungarian workers, on account of their justified dissatisfaction, PRAVDA's Budapest correspondent suggests.

In the article, without mentioning names, the correspondent introduced the main points of the debate that has evolved over 1956, including the district No 12 party committee's so-called anxious standpoint, as well. The article also repeats the view that 1956 can hardly be summarized by a single word.

Although other Soviet papers had already raised the point that perhaps, with the publication of further Soviet sources, it might be possible from here as well to contribute to the comprehensive reevaluation of 1956, PRAVDA did not mention this.

CPSU Reveals Bela Kun Executed in 1939 LD1002163789 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI)—Bela Kun, leader of the Hungarian soviet republic of 1919, is assumed to have died in late November 1939 in a Soviet prison. The CPSU has recently informed HSWP and the (?Institute of Party History) that recent findings seem to suggest Bela Kun was sentenced to death by firing squad by the military college of the USSR's Supreme Court on August 29, 1938, and executed the same day.

The party paper NEPSZABADSAG carries an article on the background of Bela Kun's trial, based on research by the Institute of Party History. Accordingly, the accusers wanted to convict Bela Kun on the trumped-up charge of being a Trotskyist who had conspired against Comintern. At the same time Kun was the last foreign Comintern leader of Lenin's associates in the Soviet Union. Stalin and his supporters attempted to impose their will

on Comintern and eliminate foreign influence. It seems that Bela Kun was been condemned [as received] to die the day of his arrest June 1937, but as his trial was not made public, it would appear he was not willing to play the traitor.

As far as the trial documents are concerned, they may have been preserved as Soviet archives still have documents carrying the stamp: "Keep for ever."

National Assembly To Convene 8-10 Mar

*LD0802225189 Budapest MTI in English
1711 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—This year under the modified rules, the first session of the Hungarian National Assembly has been convened not by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, but by the speaker of parliament. This change was announced by Speaker Istvan Stadinger at a press conference on Wednesday [8 February]. He added that, in order to enhance the autonomy of the legislation, the finalization of the agenda had also become his responsibility.

He has convened the 1989 spring session for between March 8 and 10.

His proposals for the agenda include the following:

- The basic outline of the modernization of the Constitution, which is to be the basis for the elaboration of, and the referendum on, the draft of the constitution.
- The modification to the labour code, meaning the debate on the draft of the new strike law.
- The government report on the Romanian refugees, as well as further measures to be taken in the issue.
- Trade Minister Tamas Beck's report on the preparations for the Budapest-Vienna world exposition.

Parliament's 1989 schedule. (Apparently, parliament is to hold sessions each month except for the summer recess in [no end of sentence as received])

Munnich Society Official on Demonstration Hoax

*LD0602212189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Feb 89*

[Text] [Presenter] Handbills were given out today in Budapest. Their content can be learned right away from the following interview by Peter Trebics with Robert Ribanszki, one of the leaders of the Ferenc Munnich Society:

[Begin recording] [Trebics] I hold an invitation in my hand which says the following: Let us support Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, with a silent demonstration at the next

session of the MSZMP Central Committee, on 10 February, at 1000, in front of Central Committee Headquarters. Let us condemn the pessimistic group of Janos Berecz and Imre Pozsgay; we demand the renewal of the Politburo with politicians who favor reform but who do not compromise; we demand the exposition of the stand of Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP chairman, concerning the political situation. It is signed by the Committee for the Purity of Public Life of the Ferenc Munnich Society.

[Ribanszki] The Ferenc Munnich Society did not establish a committee with such a name; it does not exist. My suspicion is that, either it was our old friend, who suggested that there be a committee of this kind, to which the executive committee of the Ferenc Munnich Society did not give its consent, and he, in his stupidity, misunderstanding the situation, continues his, so-called Murphy's war—that is, he struggles on his own.

[Trebics] Who is this man?

[Ribanszki] He is an old journalist. That is all I know about him, his name is Pal Pincesi. Or, I have an unpleasant suspicion, that this is a provocation, because, to put this kind of demand into the mouth of the Ferenc Munnich Society is more than dangerous, it is absurd.

[Trebics] When I read this appeal I found it a bit surprising but nowadays, one is not surprised by many things. And when one reads the signature at the bottom, that it is the Ferenc Munnich Society, it seemed quite authentic.

[Ribanszki] Well, I am sorry if people believe it. In this case the facts speak. I think it is incorrect to give something a different interpretation. This type of appeal will never be issued by the Ferenc Munnich Society. And I would like to ask our esteemed listeners to try to place the Ferenc Munnich Society on the coordinate of Hungarian political life. That is, we are not an alternative organization, and we do not want anything other than what the MSZMP wants. The purpose of our gathering and our organization is to help implement the party's policy in our own society as well.

[Trebics] Will you ask for an enquiry?

[Ribanszki] We have to get to the bottom of the provocation, for this is in all our interests, and it is also an important question of the peace and harmony of Hungarian society. [end recording]

Berecz Views Party's Attitude Toward Professionals

*LD0602222389 Budapest MTI in English
2124 GMT 6 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—The party takes an old-fashioned, Conservative approach to professionals, but expects them to evolve a new scale of values and make a creative and intensive contribution to renewal in

all walks of life. This approach should be eliminated, said Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, at an extended session of the Budapest party committee on Monday [6 February]. He said that, if intellectual life were to be limited, and the political leadership failed to take scientific conclusions into account, progress would be hindered.

For this reason, the fact that the Budapest party committee was dealing with its relationship to professionals was not a mere gesture, but a principal endeavour, a fundamental political issue. Mr Berecz emphasized that the party had to face up to the new situation in which participation in policy-making depended not only on the party, professionals need not necessarily join the party to have a say in the political future of the country. This was a situation of political competition that was attractive to professionals. The party had to be prepared for a situation in which those professionals who make a progressive evaluation of HSWP endeavours and advocate in general the ideas of socialism would only support it if they felt it was worth having a say in the management of the fate of the country and the nation through shaping the party's policy.

Mr Berecz stressed that, in the intellectual and ideological sense, the HSWP was not yet prepared for the historical turn it had announced and outlined. He stressed that not only the approach should be changed: The policy towards professionals should be set back on its feet. The upgrading of knowledge changed the situation of the various social strata and the relation to society as a whole. The strategy of a future-oriented communist reform policy should be elaborated, Mr Berecz said.

The Budapest party committee was informed about, and discussed, some topical political issues raised at the party organizations and in public life. It summarized reactions to statements on the evaluation of the events of 1956 and the situation of the party. The party committee felt it necessary to evaluate history in a sophisticated way, present the main tendencies in a critical light, and explore the causes of errors with joint efforts and clarifying debates. A report on the session of the Budapest party committee will be forwarded to the Central Committee.

Interest Coordination Council Views Wage Raises
AU1002123089 Budapest MTI in English
1137 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 08/02/1989—The National Interest Coordination Council, which is meeting today, has agreed to raise the present 3,000 forint monthly minimal wages to 3,700 forints with effect March 1 as against July 1.

The new minimal wages of 4,000 forints, demanded by the unions, will be introduced on October 1 and December 1, respectively.

Companies affiliated to the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and industrial cooperatives are to raise minimal wages to 4,000 forints from October 1. Other cooperatives, including agricultural ones, are to effect the move from December 1.

Talks continue on minimal wage raises this year.

The CCTU [Central Council of Trade Unions] urges a comprehensive pay rise of 3 per cent, with a minimum of 300 forints monthly.

SZOT Chief Nagy on Trade Unions' Role
AU0602161089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
6 Feb 89 p 11

[Interview with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, by correspondent Peter Martos: "Strikes: 'If Worse Comes to Worse ...'"; date, place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Mr Nagy, you have been general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, SZOT, for a relatively short time. Your situation is not enviable: On the one hand, autonomous trade unions have developed, on the other, the population is subjected to great burdens....

[Nagy] If the trade unions are not able to act in the interest of the workers for economic and political reasons above all, the people's trust is necessarily shaken. At present it is not easy to be a trade union leader in Hungary—and this is a very polite formulation.

[Martos] On 9 January price hikes for many goods came into force, as a result of which SZOT started to negotiate with the government; the positions have become closer concerning the raising of minimum wages, but only at a later date. Do the trade unions consider this as a defeat?

[Nagy] We proceed from the premise that the price hikes are at least 2 percent higher than the 12-percent inflation on which we negotiated with the government at the end of last year. On this basis we agreed on minimum wages, social measures, and pension increases. Now we have to break these agreements. Either the minimum wages have to be raised more or the date of the raise to 3,700 forints has to be made earlier than 1 June. This issue has not been decided yet: On Wednesday [8 February] an extraordinary session of the National Interest Coordination Council is taking place, a session that was initiated by the trade unions.

[Martos] This topic raises the question of whether the trade unions agree with the government that price subsidies have to be reduced.

[Nagy] One cannot agree to this, at least not globally. The price subsidies remove the prices from their true value and become sources of economic disturbances, of losses,

etc. We readily agree with the reduction of subsidies and price increases—within certain limits of course, because inflation in itself is a problem—if the nominal wages increase correspondingly.

[Martos] Prices can be raised slowly in the course of reducing subsidies or a wage reform can be introduced immediately. Would this not fan inflation?

[Nagy] No, I categorically reject this: The Hungarian labor costs are an extraordinarily small part of the calculations compared with those in Western countries. In Hungary inflation is fanned by bad investment, wrong economic decisions, a wasteful budget policy, superfluous expenditure, a currency policy that is not always well thought out, extremely high interest rates, etc. Compared with this, the wage-dependent inflation is playing a minute role.

[Martos] Your critical list is similar to the criticism that is also voiced by the autonomous trade unions. Have the "autonomous unions" not developed because the SZOT was too much in favor of the government?

[Nagy] The development has several reasons. One is that the members of certain professions did not feel truly represented by the very homogeneous large branch trade unions; they became minorities. A second reason developed out of the initiated change, which was too fast, in the system of sociopolitical institutions, which also has political motives. The third reason: Because of the concerns that have accumulated in Hungary, the people have become generally suspicious of the traditional organizations. There is some sort of confidence that new groups will do everything differently. To use one of Voltaire's sayings: It is like a second marriage, which constitutes a victory of hope over experience.

[Martos] The trade unions are dissatisfied with the media reports on their positions; the alternative groups allegedly get more space in the mass media. Is this not unfair, since SZOT has its own daily and a magazine?

[Nagy] We are talking of the state mass media, that is, radio and television, which can be requested to report in an absolutely cool and businesslike way on Hungarian events. If some people say they belong to the alternative group they can tell everything on television, while the statements of an organization with four million members on important topics, such as the right to strike, is considered not worth reporting by an editor. The editor would have such a right to judge only if he were employed by the television station of a certain group, not by the state television network.

[Martos] What is the relationship like between SZOT and the alternative trade unions?

[Nagy] In general, it is balanced and businesslike. There are a great number of meetings with the oldest and largest trade union, the Democratic Trade Union of

Scientific Workers. With some of the smaller ones, such as the Democratic Association of Child-Guidance Workers with its 26 founding members, we have no contacts; however, their existence shows that we have to improve our work in certain fields. When in autumn or at the beginning of 1990 the Democratic Trade Union Association is founded, the organizations that are called alternative today can find their place in it, too.

[Martos] The Austrian Trade Union Federation [OeGB] has not reacted to letters from alternative Hungarian trade unions. What do you think is the reason?

[Nagy] The problem is that most of the alternative organizations, not only the trade unions, do not have a coherent program. This causes problems in domestic policy as well as abroad. We do not interfere at all into whether an organization that cooperates with us establishes contacts with the alternatives or not.

[Martos] The OeGB is characterized in two ways: On the one hand, it reportedly is a power within the established forces and on the other, it has the power to reach most of its goals. Can it be SZOT's aim to become like the OeGB?

[Nagy] In many ways, yes. I would like to make some distinctions. There is the declaration to participate in power and in reality to represent rather the positions of political power. There is also the abstaining from power, which makes one a factor of power because of support by the masses. The latter would be better for us.

[Martos] In Austria, leagues of trade unions are entering politics. Does SZOT want to achieve this, too?

[Nagy] A few days ago the SZOT Presidium decided to no longer participate in the work of the Council of Ministers. We prefer the system of regular meetings. Of course, we are interested in having people work in certain government positions who accept our interests.

[Martos] In dual functions?

[Nagy] Not necessarily. I must admit that I have not yet thought about this. When Tamas Beck became trade minister he gave up his post in the Economic Chamber; I think this corresponds to our tradition and our logic.

[Martos] In Austria the social partners [representatives of employers and employees] agree on collective contracts. Will this also happen in Hungary?

[Nagy] At present collective contracts are concluded at the enterprise level. However, we are striving for holding such negotiations at the industrial branch level. In our country there is a very powerful central wage regulation, which is, of course, bad, and which the trade unions have been struggling against for years.

[Martos] How do you see the issue of strikes?

[Nagy] Social tensions have developed to such an extent that certain strata of the population have been pushed to the brink of their tolerance. In this situation it is a very real problem that in their bitterness the people want to use the weapon of strikes as a last resort. I, personally, would like to do everything so that strikes are not necessary. A spontaneous strike may all too easily lead to endangering the political and economic stability.

However, I would like to add that our minimum demands also justify the use of the weapon of strikes. It would be useless if the trade union movement had finally assembled a gun but did not have ammunition for it. This would make us comic replicas of Wild West heroes. We do not need strikes, but we cannot exclude them if worse comes to worse.

[Martos] What is your attitude if a spontaneous strike breaks out somewhere?

[Nagy] This question is linked with the right to strike. There must be clear rules to judge strikes. At the same time, it is important that the trade unions have the right to organize a nationwide strike or a solidarity strike, during which minimum services in hospitals and the electricity companies, for instance, remain intact. At the next parliamentary session the draft of the right to strike will be submitted; we have had tough negotiations with the government and we have almost reached an agreement. If solidarity strikes are not included, the trade unions would reject the entire strike law.

[Martos] Also in the form of a strike?

[Nagy] This has to be decided in the respective case.

Party Policy Committee Meets 26 Jan
*AU0902124189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 27 Jan 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Platforms Freedom Contributes To Creative Debate—The Party Policy Committee of the Central Committee Held A Meeting"]

[Text] Politburo member Janos Lukacs headed the first meeting of the Party Policy Committee of the MSZMP Central Committee on 26 January. Freedom of platforms within the party was the subject of the first meeting of this 16-member body. The draft position prepared by political scientists and party workers, which includes the proposals and observations made in the Institute of Social Sciences, provided the basic material for the debate.

The draft position is linking the issue of freedom of platforms within the party to the position adopted at the party conference in May 1988 according to which an essential requirement is to systematically guarantee the opportunities of political initiatives within the party, criticism, freedom of opinions and debates, and respect

for minority opinions. Regulating the procedures concerning the implementation of the freedom of platforms is also part of the task of broadening party democracy.

According to the plans, the draft position modified by the observations made during the 26 January meeting will be sent to all the party members and will be submitted to a debate. The debate is not compulsory, and it is worth holding a debate on the document in places where one can expect genuine observations and proposals.

In their addresses, the members of the party policy committee sought answers to questions like: Why has this issue of freedom of platforms come to the fore at all, and what can the movement expect from this debate? What advantages or disadvantages can emerge? Those who prepared the draft position studied the traditions and current practice of bourgeois and workers parties. Among other things, the committee came to the conclusion that there is freedom of platforms in most of these parties, and various opinions are regularly made public. Lenin, who rejected party factions, regarded freedom of platforms as essential.

A future party debate will have the task of clarifying the details. However, the draft position has to include a precise formulation of concepts, namely, to clearly delimit the border between platforms and factions. Several committee members said that a platform was not simply a difference of opinions but a system of thoughts which is represented by groups. In other words: It is the minority's efforts to win the majority over. A faction is an organized alliance and separation in which there can be no freedom of platforms or differences of views.

The meeting also discussed the question of to what extent the party members are concerned today with abstract and theoretical clarifications. If we consider the experiences of our movement, we are talking here about party democracy and the free expression of opinions; that is, about widening the party members' rights. A freedom of platforms could also encourage the zeal to engage in politics, and it could also lead to a broader base of the party unity. In the period prior to the decision of competent party bodies and party forums, the freedom of platforms will create mainly the opportunities of political initiatives and a position; following a decision, as part of a system of minority rights and obligations, this freedom of platforms will function as a means of criticism, correction, and establishing a new majority. Only disciplined implementation of majority decisions on joint actions could guarantee the party's ability to act and its unity, and thus, implementation is compulsory for the minority group as well, but it can maintain its position and can initiate a new debate on its proposals, and can also continue its political struggle to win the majority over.

Publicity is an essential condition and means for the emergence of freedom of platforms. This publicity provides equal chances for all, and it leads to a party-style political position. Obviously, the freedom of platforms also carries a certain danger. It could lead to division, and we should avoid the development of factions. However, it is a fact that, even without recognizing their existence, there have always been, and there still are different views within the party, views that function as a platform. The committee took a stand in favor of a freedom platforms.

Border Commander Discusses Refugee Situation
LD0602152189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0515 GMT 6 Feb 89

[From the "Morning Dialogue" program with Major General Janos Szekely, national commander of the Border Guard; Petru Romosan, a Romanian writer; Laszlo Albrecht, secretary of the Interdepartmental Coordination Committee, and an unidentified correspondent; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified presenter] Tonight Hungarian television's "Panorama" program will broadcast an interview with Petru Romosan, a Romanian writer who experienced unpleasantness when arrested at the border. He says the following:

[Begin recording] [Romosan, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation] The border guards are also exasperated people. They are embittered for not being able to see their families, having to be on the border all the time. Of course, they do not receive more pay for serving on the border day and night. Even the beatings give pleasure only to a few sadists. (?They do not carry out beatings on everyone) but all are duty bound to beat. After a while the soldiers gradually began to complain to me. They confessed and it was then that I learned that 200 refugees were killed in June, July, and August.

[Unidentified correspondent] Were there so many of them?

[Romosan] That was the number shot and killed? Two thousand were arrested and (?7,000) fled across. The number of footprints are counted at the border zone. I am a bit surprised that nobody speaks about this here, although I am convinced that the Hungarian border guards largely know about everything. For they, too, hear the shootings. They can count the number of shots and they do, too. [end recording]

[Presenter] The full conversation can be heard on the "Panorama" at 2115 tonight, (2015 GMT) but the question here and now is whether it is possible to hear gunshots on this side of the border.

[Szekely] It is possible to hear gunshots. However, I must repeat what we have already stated publicly and published in the newspapers, that in the past year 6,500 illegal Romanian refugees have come over our state border. There was not one among them injured by gunshot wounds.

[Presenter] It is publicly known that a decision has been made that refugee camps would be set up in Hungary soon. Will these be camps or civilized reception stations? It was this subject about which Laszlo Albrecht, secretary of the Interdepartmental Coordination Committee, has spoken to me here in the studio.

[Albrecht] At such reception stations it is possible to assess much more reassuringly and thoroughly as to whether those subsequent arrivals should or should not receive permission to settle in Hungary. In addition, these reception stations could have the function of being able to direct, in a more organized manner, the refugees to other parts of the country where accommodation and jobs are more available. These will not be the usual camps—there will be neither [word indistinct] nor barbed wire fences—but rather they will be civilized reception stations. For we must not forget that the overwhelming majority of those populating the camps will be Hungarians. According to current thinking, three or four camps are needed at this stage. One of these would be in or near Budapest while the others would be in eastern Hungary in some big cities or in their neighborhood.

[Presenter] Obviously you have taken into account that if Hungary becomes a signatory to the Geneva Convention on Refugees and these camps enjoy UN financial support as well then it will be absolutely impossible to write on the gate: only for refugees from Transylvania.

[Albrecht] This is the case, because if we join the Geneva Convention on Refugees it is conceivable that people from other countries will also request asylum in Hungary. Essentially, we will be able to receive those whose life and personal freedom is in danger in their homeland.

[Presenter] Obviously the establishment of the reception stations eases the work of the border guards as well.

[Szekely] It is true it will ease both our work and perhaps even our conscience because it will not be we, and the police organs at the Ministry on Interior cooperating with us, who will have to judge who should stay and who should go back to Romania. This is not a simple question and it requires serious consideration in respect of every person and certainly it causes, on occasions, problems of conscience to decide properly.

[Presenter] What happens if, for example, Czechoslovak or Soviet people enter Hungary across the border without documents and appear in these reception camps?

[Szekely] Well, Czechoslovak... well, I cannot say what happens now if they appear.

[Albrecht] Refugee camps do not yet exist, but I know that we have a treaty with every country for the return of those crossing the border illegally, who have not committed any other crime but have crossed the border illegally—that is, with the socialist countries.

[Szekely] Presently the practice is that we arrest them, hand them over to the police—all those crossing the border illegally—and it is the police who decides what should happen to them in the future. Well, if somebody arrives without any kind of document the situation becomes more difficult because it must be then clarified where he came from, what nationality he is, and what he says—and one must rely on what he says.

[Presenter] However, there can be no distinction in terms of principle between refugees arriving from Czechoslovakia or Romania.

[Albrecht] from the point of view of principle there should not be. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Youth Organization Holds News Conference
LD0702221189 Budapest MTI in English
2133 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—It has not yet been decided whether Hungary will be sending a delegation to

the 13th world youth festival to be held in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea next summer, youth activists said at a Tuesday [7 February] press conference dealing with Monday's general assembly of the National Council of Youth Organizations in Hungary (MISZOT).

Apart from differing opinions, decision was hindered by the fact that the MISZOT member organizations had no exact information on what state funds were available for the purpose. The central budget approved by parliament allocated 100 million forints to the world youth festival, but the sum mentioned at the consultation was only 40 million. (The Ministry of Finance told an MTI correspondent that the sum was reduced after parliament cut central contributions granted to social organizations).

On behalf of six member organizations, a representative of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) said that they disagreed with the idea of sending a Hungarian delegation to the festival. They said the sum earmarked for this purpose should rather be allocated to those youth organizations which have not received any contribution from this year's budget. He added that, if the central contribution really had been reduced to 40 million forints, it had been done with the exclusion of the general public, in other words, in an unacceptable way.

Economy, Social Policy Team Debates Viewed

Second Team Meeting Held

LD1302231688 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 13—According to Deputy Government Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski, the roundtable team for economy and social policy held its second debate here Monday, co-chaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski. Trzeciakowski presented his side's proposals concerning topics for discussion and a timetable of the team's work. He said that his side expected a response to a list of postulates presented at the previous meeting. He stressed that, in his opinion, the team's work could not possibly produce within six weeks an agreement on the whole package of systemic issues and economic policy. He put forward a solution to help consult economic decisions in the future by setting up a Consultative Economic Council.

The side I represent, he said, think that the team should also deal with issues of subjectivizing the enterprises, formulas of management, the role of self-management and trade union pluralism and forms of ownership. Another topic should be the social policy while in the economic policy the most important question should be how to recover an internal and external equilibrium.

Taking the floor Wladyslaw Baka stressed that the government side had studied at length documents produced by the previous meeting. We cannot, he said, approve of the total negation of people's Poland's achievements which was contained in some addresses. We suggest that our table be free of overstressed and biased appraisals.

Baka forwarded a proposal to ask a group of historians of different orientations to objectively present achievements and weak points of Poland's economic development and the effects of reforming the economy in the 1980s.

Next Baka said that the basic goal of the team's debate was to formulate a new social agreement concerning the whole of difficult economic and social problems. The debate should develop the most important at present issues as the way to curb inflation, the basic rules of the price policy, incomes and benefits indexation, demonopolization of farm products purchase and abandoning of meat coupons. This is linked with financial and income issues and the money, credit and austerity policy. The government side is prepared to report on these topics.

According to Baka, next meetings should refer to Poland's foreign debt, investments, mainly in the context of structural changes, relations of ownership and the role of workers' self-management.

Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula spoke about the most important problems and decisions the government has made since it was appointed four months ago. He dwelled upon

the working out of legal acts to introduce profound changes in the functioning of the economy so that their "critical mass" makes these changes irreversible and complex. The systemic shape of the economy, Sekula said, is regulated by the principle of freedom, equality and competition. The basic legal acts were formulated according to this rule. The vice-premier presented the economic conditions and stressed threats posed by the lack of market balance, high inflation and foreign debt. Next he elaborated on a draft law on introducing the plan of the national economy consolidation.

Representatives of the other side also presented their stands concerning the plan and economic reform. Here are some of them: Jan Mujzel said that the plan of the national economy consolidation contained many decisions that are beyond doubt right and important but opined that it was not a satisfactory program of the radical change of the structure and economic status of enterprises.

Tomasz Stankiewicz said that the second stage of the reform brought about a boldly-formulated program and a series of new resolutions the part of which stopped at the stage of words and rules. He added that the government has created some measures, better and worse ones, but they are not yet complete.

Vice-Premier Kazimierz Olesiak presented a concept to demopolize the farm products purchase and to depart from meat coupons and donations for prices of food. The concept is based on a free market of foodstuffs.

A heated discussion followed. The meeting said that the price and income indexation needed a special attention and resolved that a sub-team would meet Tuesday, Feb 14, to discuss the matter.

The team decided to hold its next meeting this February.

Officials Speak at News Conference

LD1402002189 Warsaw PAP in English
2348 GMT 13 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska, Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 13—Characterizing the course of debate within the roundtable team for economy and social policy, Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a press conference here today that the biggest divergences in the stands of the government side and the so-called opposition-Solidarity forces arose in three study groups. The divergences concerned:

- A review of the state budget both in the sphere of expenditure (for administration, defence and police, among other things) and central investments,
- The economy consolidation plan and the government's proposed draft law on conditions for its implementation,
- Nomenclature

Addressing himself to austerity measures and curbing inflation, Ryszard Bugaj who took part in the conference said that Solidarity does not come out in favour of the movement of prices being quelled with administrative moves and that it outrightly accepts that movement provided that appropriate conditions are secured for working people, this being achieved through wage indexation, among other things.

Professor Janusz Beksiak pointed to the government draft law on conditions of economy consolidation as "totally unlawful."

Despite assurances on the part of authorities, not only is the size of nomenclature decreasing, but it is outrightly on the rise, Onyszkiewicz said. He added that no concrete talks were held on the issue as yet, for another meeting of the team in question is to be attended by specialists expected to present concrete figures.

Speaking about positive aspects of today's talks, Onyszkiewicz said that these include the government side's consent to talks on indexation of employee pays, and the formation of a subteam for indexation of pays and incomes, to start work on February 14. Another positive element of the talks as seen by Onyszkiewicz is the agreement to discuss the possibility of appointing a consultative economic council—a permanent body which would deal with the current problems of this country's economy.

"Our hopes for the government side to hold serious negotiations with us have not yet vanished. However, as far as certain issues are concerned, the government side wants, as it were, to get us to endorse decisions which were made before. We will be especially careful in this regard," said Onyszkiewicz in reply to one of the questions.

Baka, Others Offer Comments

LD1302221989 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The successive week of work at the roundtable has begun. The team for economic and social policy has met for a second time on the most important problems relating to the economic bases of the life of Poles and the picture of the Polish economy. The co-chairmen were Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What can you say about today's deliberations of the team?

[Trzeciakowski] I think that we have moved onto specific matters, that is to say matters that are very difficult, such as indexation and inflation, but ones important for working people.

[Baka] I fully agree with what Professor Trzeciakowski has said. Here the discussion is sometimes very sharp and difficult, as the situation is difficult. Our team differs from the others in that decisions have been put

forward here, and if they do not conform to the economic aspirations or possibilities they might not altogether be fulfilled. Here the consensus might not be worth anything if one does not take into account all that which decides the rules of life [as heard]. That is why the matters here touched on are so particularly difficult. [end recording]

[Announcer] And here are the statements of the press spokesmen who listened to the deliberations:

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz] The consolidation plan for the economy presented by the government has been recognized by us as a plan that in many places contains declarations heading in the right direction, but altogether demanding very deep changes and such as we cannot accept. This mainly relates to the matter of social protection. We fail to see in this plan such things as the protection of people who will be made redundant; the possibilities for retraining them; protection for people who earn little and have to live in subsidized housing; and above all matters of linking wages with inflation. Thus something that is called indexation, the lack of which at the moment causes almost a wild panic, when it is a case of pay pressures and disorganization in the economy. Over and above that an important thing for us is the socialization of the economy, the restoration of self-management rights, and the elimination of the nomenklatura—this is something that is utterly basic.

[Rykowski] For my tastes there are always too many slogans in the work of this team and too few specific matters. As to slogans, as to the general feeling that things ought to be good in the economy, that it should be radically reformed, and quite quickly, then in fact everyone is agreed. The problems only begin when specific questions are set as to how to do this, especially when specific matters ensue. And today finally, fortunately the move toward specific matters started. Then a disagreement appears between the demands of management efficiency and the so-called social rationales, social prerequisites. The reconciliation of these two rationales, that is the rationale of efficiency and the social rationales, ought in my opinion to be the subject of this social accord that, let us hope, will be the result of this team's work. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Baka Holds News Conference

LD1402012689 Warsaw PAP in English
0057 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 13—In response to the question about the progress in the work of the (roundtable) team for economy and social policy, teams co-chairman Wladyslaw Baka said that the talks were difficult and one could not speak about a prospective progress.

We think, he said, that the roundtable mandates expect our team to significantly contribute to a concept of the social agreement, map out the scope of co-participation and co-responsibility on the part of different social forces in creating the economic policy.

In such important times, the agreement depends to a high degree on the political will. The debate by our team reflects this. If there is such a will, individual issues will be settled more efficiently. All the time we stress the necessity to agree not only on the goals but also on a concrete scenario of action, Baka said.

Answering the same question Co-chairman Witold Trzeciakowski said that the progress is perceived in such a sense that ever bigger number of debaters become aware of the tense economic and social situation. This results in a gradual departure from making accusations against each other, mainly those concerning the past. It seems that we are at the stage of explaining many things, he added.

A concept to form a consultative economic council is a concrete contribution of ours. We think that the complex character of the systemic problems and the necessity for their being currently examined requires the appointing of such a council. In our opinion, the forming of the second chamber in the parliament would solve this problem for good. But before it is created, the consultative economic council may constitute a forum for making indispensable agreements.

For Solidarity, the most urgent issue is to protect the working people against the effects of inflation. This is linked with the problem of the incomes and benefits indexation. The solutions in this field and their implementation should win social support. The roundtable is the only chance for agreement to soothe our sore points, he said.

Baka, Trzeciakowski on Working Group Issues
AU1302161789 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 9 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Roundup of statements made to ZYCIE WARSZAWY by participants in the meeting of the "roundtable" working group for the economy and social policy held in Warsaw on 8 February: "ZYCIE WARSZAWY Was Told"]

[Excerpts]

Wladyslaw Baka

Today we set out our concepts and described what these sessions should produce.

Our concept is one of a profound reorganization of the economy that is oriented toward the market. This process will upset social structures and that is why it has to be understood and supported by society. [passage omitted]

The consolidation plan concerns social and not just economic consolidation. In other words, economic consolidation is not possible without the consolidation of society, without society agreeing to changes in the entire system of property relations, to large income differences, to unprofitable enterprises going into liquidation and being closed down more quickly, and to extensive and far-reaching demonopolization.

Without social support, these processes cannot succeed. After all, when disturbances, revolutions, and revolts break out, this is often because appropriate programs are not being implemented and cannot be implemented, because there is no "social readiness" to accept them. So, an effective program is one that has the right economic principles and has, at the same time, won social acceptance or social support, which is even better.

The government is hoping that the "roundtable" will not only produce consensus, but that it will also speed up the reforms.

Witold Trzeciakowski

My impression after several hours of the session is a very positive one. The atmosphere is a constructive one, but there are a great many issues on which our standpoints differ, and it will undoubtedly take a long time to find solutions.

The most important issues concern the fight against inflation and ways of getting out of the impasse in which we have found ourselves. A further very important issue is social protection, the state's welfare role. The state must retain its function of looking after the poorest sections of society as all the market-oriented reforms are being instituted. This is a very difficult problem to tackle, but one that cannot be avoided. The third very big problem is indebtedness.

I think that inflation will be examined by a team that will be specially set up within the framework of our economic "roundtable." I think that it is also necessary to set up a debt team, which will outline ways of settling the enormous debts in both the West and the East. These are the issues on which we will seek to find some possible common position.

As for what journalists have been repeatedly saying about the atmosphere of the session reminding them of some scholarly seminar at which views and concepts are submitted, I would say that, in view of the atmosphere created by the strike at Belchatow, it is something of a restless seminar.

There are very many similarities in both sides' views and ideas. The only thing is that, in our opinion, there is little hope of those goals on which we agree being realized if there is no social control over the implementation process.

If I were to be asked if there was anything about recent government activity that I view very positively, then I think we would point to the law on economic activity and to the freedoms that it contains. However, it will not solve anything without a law on taxation and regulations on implementation.

Is there a will to achieve a compromise on both sides? This will become apparent with the results that are produced. I think that the will is there, and that it is only a question of whether appropriate ways and means are found. It is also a question of joint involvement in and joint responsibility for the fate of the country, that is, the element of public control over government decisions. Without this being taken into consideration, it is hard to envisage social support for the program for getting out of the crisis.

Bielecki Holds News Conference

LD1402085189 Warsaw PAP in English
0055 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 13—The spokesman of the Christian-Social Union, Krzysztof Bielecki, held a press conference here today on the debates of the roundtable team for economy and social policy. He emphasized that the union came out in favour of fast reforming the economy which would curb inflation, saturate the market, and stake on freedom, equality, and competition in economy. The spokesman pointed out that the margin of social impoverishment was clearly growing. The union opines that such mechanisms of reforming the economy should be created so as the side effects of reforms do not hit the poorest. Nobody will exempt the state from responsibility to secure social protection to the most endangered social groups.

Speaking of personnel policy, Bielecki stated that all real forces active in Poland should participate in the policy. It is not political views but the professional skills, knowledge of the essence of one's profession, and moral attitudes that should be decisive in economy. The union does not question the right of the PUWP, as a ruling party, to man numerous key posts in Poland, but points to the need of equality in personnel policy.

Rakowski Queried on Results of Roundtable Talks

Grants Interview to LE MONDE

PM1402102689 Paris LE MONDE in French
11 Feb 89 pp 1,4

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by Sylvie Kauffmann in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—[Kauffmann] The speeches delivered at the opening session of the roundtable were very tough on both sides. How do you think you can unite all those people on a joint platform with a view to early parliamentary elections?

[Rakowski] Such speeches were to be expected from people who have such different views on what the political system in Poland should be. That is perfectly natural. Their content must be analyzed in a context of bargaining: You secure a compromise by putting forward a very tough viewpoint at first and then making it more flexible.

However, the government position has nothing to do with bargaining. Our platform is what Gen Kiszczak said. We can give way on some details. But the strategic line is the one which we are going to maintain, in the state's interest.

I think that at the roundtable we will be able to draw up a joint program on Poland's essential problems. This does not mean that disagreements will be eliminated. In a couple, people are often together although they do not share the same opinions. But they share higher objectives—the children, importance attached to some traditions, not showing the neighbors that they quarrel....

They therefore stay together, although each of the partners is looking toward somebody else. Well, the same is true in politics.

[Kauffmann] Do you already have assurances that the opposition will rally to your platform?

[Rakowski] This stage of an agreement with the opposition is not very clear, it is not visible. But I have the feeling that we have already reached an agreement. There is now a conviction within the opposition that there must be agreement without putting forward demands which cannot be met.

[Kauffmann] Do you mean free elections, for instance?

[Rakowski] The opposition claims that it is impossible to have free elections. I think that it has simply woken up to its influence in Poland. Clear-sighted people in the opposition know that it certainly does not have a majority in the country. That may be why they are limiting their demands. They themselves say that they can hope for 20 percent.... They give us 20 percent, too.

[Kauffmann] How many do you give yourselves?

[Rakowski] I think we will win more. But I admit that there is a silent center, although it is smaller than it was 1 year ago. And, to be honest, the government has far more means of winning over the silent majority than the opposition.

[Kauffmann] Have you already agreed with the opposition about a distribution of seats in the next elections?

[Rakowski] No. Moreover, judging from statements by people like Walesa, they do not yet know very clearly what attitude to adopt. That will be discussed at the roundtable.

A Historical Process

[Kauffmann] How soon can we envisage a real multi-party system in Poland?

[Rakowski] It is impossible to set a period of time, it is a historical process which is developing independently of our will. We already have a three-party system (Footnote) (PZPR, ZSL, SD). The two small parties were undoubtedly satellite parties, but they no longer are. They are even taking their revenge. We have entered a transitional period in relations between the PZPR and the other two parties.

In a few weeks' time, the bill on associations will be submitted to the Sejm. It is difficult to say what form political structures in Poland will take for a certain period of time. The old socialist structure is shedding its old skin and taking on a new one and this transitional period is linked to what is happening in other socialist countries. What will the situation be in 10 or 20 years time? I do not know.

[Kauffmann] Is it possible to envisage abandoning the party's leadership role?

[Rakowski] Yes, certainly. The PZPR has entered a very important phase in its development: After analyzing the situation and the requirements, it is abandoning the monopoly of power. This is a very interesting historical experience.

[Kauffmann] But, it can abandon its monopoly while maintaining its leadership role....

[Rakowski] Leadership role in the political sense, in other words the ability to attract people.

[Kauffmann] And will the other parties be able to aspire to exercise power?

[Rakowski] They can aspire to it...(laughter—LE MONDE editor's note). The PZPR, the communist party, has adopted—or is adopting—the principle of competition with other political forces. This is the essential aspect of this change.... It is up to it to prove that, in this competition, it can play a leadership role, not by imposing a principle, but by showing that it can put it into practice. We are a very long way from the dictatorial concept. It is a challenge. It is not written anywhere in history that the PZPR will meet it.

[Kauffmann] Meanwhile, is there no provision for the opposition to participate in the May or June elections as a political party?

[Rakowski] It does not want to be a political party!

[Kauffmann] In an interview to daily DIE WELT on 12 December, you ruled out the hypothesis of Solidarity's legalization. One month later, you threatened to resign to force the Central Committee to accept Solidarity's legalization. What made you change your mind?

[Rakowski] I am still opposed to the legalization of Solidarity and I am in favor of the creation of a new Solidarity trade union which will break with its past—not a very rosy past. You know, in politics you sometimes have to wait for conditions to be right to say things. That was the case at the last Central Committee plenum.

Gorbachev's Full Confidence

[Kauffmann] What was Solidarity's attitude in this affair?

[Rakowski] We made this change of policy without any outside interference, with Gorbachev's full confidence. The Soviet press makes no secret of its interest in and support for what we are doing. The fact that the Moscow leadership is so inspired by a desire for reform is enormously important.

[Kauffmann] If Gorbachev was in difficulty, would that have a negative effect on the course of events here?

[Rakowski] Of course, and the converse is also true. We now form a bigger test ground than any other country.

[Kauffmann] What do the other allies think of all that? The Hungarians are probably very interested, but are the Czechoslovaks and East Germans not rather worried?

[Rakowski] I no longer really have time to read our friends' newspapers....

[Kauffmann] Yes, but you visited the GDR fairly recently....

[Rakowski] It is difficult to say. Opinions differ on restructuring, and that is natural. All the socialist countries have entered a phase of strengthening their national identity. Of course, we have the most direct contacts with the Soviets and Hungarians, that is obvious. Those countries are passing through a very important historical experience. When you approach new habits and ideas, it inevitably arouses criticism. But we must not reproach those who make those criticisms, because that would be Stalinist behavior.

[Kauffmann] Let us take the example of Hungary. Do you not have the impression that things are getting out of control at present?

[Rakowski] Yes. A number of observers in various countries are asking questions about the pace of the changes. Politicians have even asked me whether this rate is too rapid. In politics, you always have to assess the

real forces. But fears or criticisms about us and our Hungarian friends do not really matter. One day, historians will say that this was a fascinating period.

[Kauffmann] The year 1956 was also a fascinating period.

[Rakowski] Conditions were entirely different. It was only 11 years after World War II—there was an entirely different generation on the political scene. Stalinism was still fresh. Fear was a political factor, which is not now the case. With hindsight, from the viewpoint of restoring democratic relations, the 1956 experiment in Hungary and Poland was doomed to failure.

[Kauffmann] Let us return to your current problems. Poland has a \$38 billion debt. How do you plan to repay it?

[Rakowski] I have no answer to that question. I just hope that the Western countries in the Paris Club will change their attitude toward us, because it was linked to the internal situation in Poland. We are now taking measures which should satisfy them. I will raise this question during my talks in Paris next week. We are prisoners of this debt, it is Poland's main problem, it would be an entirely different country were it not for the debt.

[Kauffmann] A two-tier economy seems to be developing in Poland—the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer. Is this compatible with socialism?

[Rakowski] Do you think it is? With regard to the poor, it is up to the state to improve their living conditions. As for the rich, we cannot prevent them from growing rich in this essential period for the economy. However, the new rich must not forget that the masses' anger can be an important political reality.

Queried on Budapest Television

LD1302224588 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2005 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Interview with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Jerzy Turowicz, chief editor of the weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, on 4 February in Rakowski's home; Rakowski speaks in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded; from the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Turowicz] In Warsaw last week, the roundtable discussions began between the government, the official trade unions, and various groups of the opposition. The goal is the creation of national consensus, the working out of a Polish version of pluralism, with the legalization, anew, of Solidarity. [passage omitted]

I spoke with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in his drawing room. Will the recommendations of the roundtable talks be binding for the government?

[Rakowski] The government has an interest in the roundtable discussions concluding with a new social agreement, about which I, too, spoke at the most recent, 10th, plenary session of the Central Committee. The government has an interest in the reaching of an agreement by the parties participating in the roundtable talks, in the most essential issues which pertain to Poland's further, mainly economic, development. Thus, the government has an interest in all of the parties participating in the roundtable talks undertaking a pledge that there will not be strikes in Poland during the coming 2 years, that they will not exert pressure for the purpose of increasing wages, that they will not organize actions of this type, that they acknowledge the principle of economic reform, and so forth.

In other words, the roundtable talks entail certain consequences regarding the government, that is natural. [passage omitted]

Orzechowski Sees 2 Socialist Parties as 'Ideal'

LD1302202588 Warsaw PAP in English
1925 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Stockholm, Feb 13—It would be ideal if there were two socialist parties in Poland so that Poles could vote for one of them in free elections, said Marian Orzechowski, Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, in an extensive interview granted to the Swedish TT Agency, which described him as the main ideologist of the PUWP.

The PUWP CC secretary said he did not think that Poles wanted a return of capitalism. They want the state to continue to guarantee them full employment and social security.

MTI Carries Rakowski, Walesa Interviews

LD0602231289 Budapest MTI in English
1531 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, Feb 6 (MTI)—Panorama, a political programme transmitted by Hungarian television every Monday, carried an interview with Prime Minister M. Rakowski and L. Walesa, head of Solidarity, at the start of a series of roundtable talks.

Mr Rakowski said in advance:

'These roundtable talks are to be a landmark in the creation of new Polish political structures, representing an expansion of the dialogue between Polish citizens with differing views.'

Asked about the major tasks of the roundtable participants L. Walesa said:

'First of all we should reveal the possibilities and come to terms on the necessity of reform based on pluralism and freedom.'

He noted the unanimity of Solidarity:

"I estimate that about one per cent of Solidarity members are satisfied with our union the way as it is. Then, there are those who call for drastic changes without delay. Although they are only a handful, they are all the louder for that. The majority, over 90 per cent, of the membership, is determined to put an end to the Stalinist era and live in freedom. They want to achieve this goal slowly, in a sober-minded way, preserving peace and suffering the fewest possible losses. I count myself in the ranks of the latter group.

Walesa's Remarks at Builders Meeting Reported
AU1302171089 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 8 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Z. Zaryczyn: "Lech Walesa's Meeting with Warsaw Builders—"We Have To Move Ahead Together with Poland""]

[Text] Lech Walesa was a guest of the work force of the Warsaw Institute of Building Technology on Tuesday 7 February. The lively meeting enabled the several hundred Institute employees present at this meeting, together with employees from other workplaces, to hear various opinions about the "roundtable" itself and about the current situation in Poland.

From the discussion, which lasted over 1 and ½ hours, I have selected excerpts, questions and answers, which caused the greatest interest among those who attended. The statements, transcribed from a tape recording, have not been approved for publication.

Lech Walesa on the concept of authority and society: The absence of pluralism has alienated the authorities. There have been decent people in the authorities every now and then. These definitely did not feel alienated. However, in society's view, the authorities have become alienated, and this has led to the division into "us" and "them." Pluralism will erase this difference. People will appreciate what is good and what is honest, and reject what is bad. I hope the day is not far off when, with democracy, freedom, and pluralism already established, we will be able to say: "our beloved authorities."

On Alfred Miodowicz and the OPZZ: There is one thing I must say. It would be very bad if the next trade union that arises—and it must arise—were to "extinguish" another union. We need pluralism in Poland! Monopolies have not turned out to anyone's advantage. "Solidarity" cannot enjoy a monopoly over either common sense or the trade unions. It has to make room for others.

In a pluralistic trade union in a pluralistic society, there will be room for Miodowicz, and no one will deprive him of it. If only we prove capable of settling general issues that are above the factory in a spirit of Solidarity, and perceive more than just our own interests. I hope we will get this far. I hope we will talk seriously to Miodowicz

about Poland on more than one occasion. But this time I hope we will talk about a pluralistic Poland, one that offers equal chances to everyone.

On differences inside the "Solidarity" leadership: There is a working group, and there are other minor and really insignificant groups. They keep hurling accusations at me, this working group that contains Andrzej Gwiazda, Andrzej Slowik, Marian Jurczyk, and others. They insist that Lech Walesa does not want a National Commission congress, saying that he is undemocratic and governs badly.

I think it is politically stupid to expect me to convene a National Commission congress at a time when many activists have left Poland, others have failed to prove themselves, and many new faces have joined us who still have no mandate. I cannot convene this congress, first because I have no way of checking who will come to it and from where they will come, and I simply do not know everyone, and second because I have to let newcomers, young people, join the union leadership and get rid of some of the old faces. A congress would reveal many weaknesses and expose the union to danger. It might even turn out to be unnecessary.

That is why I did not agree with the idea of a congress, and I do not agree with it now. It will bring nothing. All we would do is argue, and others would take advantage of that.

On the Polish reform: I would like us to always remember Solidarity is first and foremost a reform. Of course we have had different appearances in the past, and will continue to have different appearances in the future. Our first stage consisted of emotions, banners, and strikes. Was it possible to proceed to the second stage, working out a program, and then a third stage, implementing it? It was; only 13 December stood in the way.

I do not think there was a propitious foreign climate for Polish reforms in those days. I know there was no such climate. I once said that Brezhnev lived 2 years too long. I got into trouble for saying that, because that is not the way to talk about another person, but I was only talking in symbolic terms. The seed of reform was sown too soon. Of course, historians will assess what the possibilities were, what mistakes were made, and so on. Let us leave that to them!

We have to move ahead together with Poland. We must not stop. We have to proceed in harmony toward a greater, wiser, and better Poland.

On the "Solidarity" of the future: The fundamental task of today is for us to organize ourselves as a trade union and at the same time—in accordance with the principle of pluralism and the law—let other professional groups form themselves into associations that would take over

political and other topics from "Solidarity." Which topics? I do not know yet, but I think you yourselves will know better which topics should be taken away from "Solidarity."

First and foremost, "Solidarity" is to fulfill the role of a trade union. But I am not the one who will define its objectives and program. Only the congresses will do that, for they are the most important authorities. Will our union put forth demands? Of course it will. It is a trade union's duty to fight for people's existence. But a union must be cautious. One cannot demand something if the means to provide it do not exist. I do not think the Poles will overdo it in this respect. The union will be a fighting one. It must be a fighting one. We will be the same kind of union as other unions in the world.

My vision of the future is as follows: I would very much like us to be purely a trade union, but I would also like economic pluralism in Poland; a pluralism of associations of farmers, taxi drivers, and so on; political pluralism. That is what I am aiming for. When will it happen? I do not know. Maybe I am wrong, but you are supposed to tell me whether or not I am wrong and whether I should aim for this pluralism.

About the energy Poles need in order to think and act: I believe in the common sense of Poles. I believe we will organize our home better, though it will be expensive. Some are scared of entering this home because they sense danger already. They do not want to abandon their present position, because they have a much more extensive view from where they are. That must change. We must enter pluralism. That is a difficult thing to do, but it is our only way. The higher civilization and development are, the more freedom there has to be. But freedom is not anarchy.

Solidarity's Kuron on Talks With Government
PM0902075089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
3 Feb 89 p 12

[Interview with Solidarity adviser Jacek Kuron by Andrea Tarquini in Warsaw on 1 February]

[Text] Warsaw—"The government has found in us the only authentic reformist force in society. As Walesa said, we are doomed or destined to find agreement because this is our country and we all must and all want to save it from collapse. Although we are running serious risks, we are taking a major step toward democracy which will have an enormous influence in the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, as restructuring has helped us to do." This statement was made by Jacek Kuron who held out his hand to the government while, at the party conference, Jaruzelski and Rakowski were defending the change against the orthodox members. Kuron, who was a protagonist in the 1968 student protests, and then the first dissident intellectual to offer help to the workers, is

now the opposition's political brains, one of the most prestigious independent voices in the other half of Europe. This is the interview which he gave on 1 February:

[Tarquini] What has changed in the past 2 months? In November and December, Prime Minister Rakowski was saying a resolute no to dialogue....

[Kuron] Let us look back to last August when a wave of strikes led to the first negotiations for Solidarity's legalization. The authorities are not now facing direct pressure from society, instead the apparatus is revolting against any reform, especially political reform. The official trade union is threatening to strike to oppose trade union pluralism—strikes which would lead to economic collapse. The government has therefore made it choice: At the last plenum, Rakowski warned that the crisis is making the executive increasingly unpopular rather than more popular. The only way out was to try a division of responsibility with us.

[Tarquini] In other words a complete about-face?

[Kuron] Their about-face is based on the country's complete collapse, economic and ecological disaster, constant deterioration in living standards, and growing discontent. We can expect a huge explosion of anger in spring, the authorities want to avoid that and we can reduce or control it. A considerable number of the leadership team understand that the cause of the collapse is the existing government system, and think it is necessary to change it. We have maintained that for a long time. Part of the government has now turned toward the opposition as the only real reforming force with which it can attempt a compromise. Their previous attempts at reform without us have failed because of resistance from the old guard.

[Tarquini] How do you view the government's demands for the roundtable?

[Kuron] In general terms, they are asking us to share responsibility with them, and to accept the fundamental political and economic bases for the reforms which they are proposing, and, in this context, they are asking us to participate in the elections.

[Tarquini] What will your answer be?

[Kuron] The majority of Solidarity thinks that the only way out of the crisis is a radical change in the system, and a departure from what the authorities call Stalinist totalitarianism. We want to remain a trade union without abandoning the objective of reforming Poland. We therefore cannot share responsibility: In 1981 that choice was not possible, then came the disaster, the introduction of martial law on 13 December.

[Tarquini] What real chance is there of agreement?

[Kuron] Let us first look at the problems. Just as the authorities have encountered resistance in the apparatus, the majority of our activists and of the people do not trust the government and do not believe in real reforms. We will only be able to convince them that agreement is possible if the reform program is clear, if the government elite agree to cooperate with an opposition which continues to be an opposition. We must remain separate from them, persuade them that an opposition in parliament with access to the press can strengthen cooperation on reforms and national rebuilding. In this way we will make progress, although I believe that there will be many conflicts.

[Tarquini] What proposals are you making to limit the conflicts?

[Kuron] We will make an effort to establish the right conditions for cooperation between the authorities and the opposition, between the authorities and the trade unions, and among the various trade unions. We must draw up a new social contract, with an opposition which will not cease to be an opposition, and for this reason it will become a constructive rather than a destructive opposition, in accordance with the distinction made by the government.

[Tarquini] Will the agreement not be too little too late?

[Kuron] It will certainly be too little too late. At the plenum, Colonel Kwiatkowski (one of the leading reformers in the party—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) said that the party's clock is constantly going backward compared with history's clock. What is happening now was possible years ago, and meanwhile the people's discontent and ill-will have increased. But agreement must be a long process, which will then have to be put into practice in social life, in the factories, and in election campaigns. This process of creating understanding begins with the roundtable.

[Tarquini] Will agreement be reached before the next wave of strikes or protests?

[Kuron] There have always been strikes and there are still strikes, even the official trade unions are organizing strikes. Therefore I think that if there is no agreement within 1 month or 6 weeks, the next big wave of discontent will break. I am not saying that an agreement will enable us to prevent it but to limit it and make negotiated solutions easier.

[Tarquini] Will it not remain an agreement between elites? And how long will it last?

[Kuron] Even if the roundtable is as big as possible, there will not be room for more than 200 people at most. There will certainly be an agreement among elites and it will continue to be that. But the sooner we succeed in negotiating it and concluding it openly, the quicker we succeed in discussing it with the members of our trade

union, the broader the support we will obtain from society. Solidarity activists and the party apparatus will oppose the agreement, but I cannot imagine a coalition between these two forces. Of course, the radical opposition will remain outside the agreement, but an agreement on pluralism will give them more freedom, too. However, it will damage the party hardliners who are not concerned about carrying out political activity but about losing power.

[Tarquini] Are you afraid of provocations? What do you think about the death of the two priests?

[Kuron] It can be openly stated that provocations are a real danger. The groups in the apparatus which are opposed to agreement know all about provocation. But I cannot say whether or not those two deaths were murder, I cannot say whether or not they were provocations.

[Tarquini] Do you fear strong reactions from young radical workers?

[Kuron] The youth problem in Poland is very serious, the country's collapse hits them first. They have no prospects. Our hope is that the young workers and all young people will place their current practical needs before the possibility of changing the situation [as published], that they should allow themselves to become involved in the prospects now opening up—that of changing the world in which they live. It is a historic opportunity and it is easy to waste it.

[Tarquini] The socialist world is increasingly divided between countries in which reforms are going ahead (the USSR, Poland, and Hungary) and counterreformist regimes. What influence will the Polish events have in this sphere?

[Kuron] I think that the progress of the reform process depends on the social forces. It is no accident that it has advanced further in Poland and Hungary. The social forces are waking up in the Soviet Union and I think that will force even the Czechoslovak authorities to make concessions. Our experience will have a great influence on the Soviet Union and all the other countries: They will see an agreement between a government and an opposition which have fought for years, even underground and in prison. It will be an essential step toward democracy. However, if the Polish agreement does not succeed, the process of building democracy will be greatly slowed down for a long time in the whole socialist camp. What happens in the USSR also has an enormous influence in our country: In government ranks it weakens the enemies of reform and strengthens the advocates of change, it helps them to realize that we are not facing transient problems but a profound crisis in the system. Thanks to restructuring, even Polish society has become more open.

[Tarquini] You and Adam Michnik were attacked during preparations for the roundtable. Will the authorities now accept you at the negotiations?

[Kuron] It was not a personal issue in my case, it was a pretext. I was attacked while the authorities were trying to choose interlocutors and were facing the idea of negotiations on different principles than the existing ones. The problem no longer exists.

OPZZ Issues Statement on TU Pluralism
LD1302195789 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Statement issued 'today' by the OPZZ Executive Committee Secretariat press spokesman]

[Text] Attempts by Janusz Onyszkiewicz to describe our movement as a neounion arouse our surprise and protest. We protest Mr Onyszkiewicz usurping the right to represent the views of the entire society through questioning the representative nature of those appearing on behalf of various parties taking part in the work of the roundtable. This is in clear contradiction with the principle of equality of the participants. Such an attitude also means a breach of the nonconfrontational principle adopted by the participants in the debates. Clear examples of this can be seen in Alojzy Pietrzyk's statements during the strike in Belchatow, as well as in comments on it, and in actions of some persons connected with Solidarity founding committees. All this arouses concern, as for the sake of the declared principles of democracy and pluralism, one aims at achieving a monopoly to represent opinions of the working people without asking their view.

The OPZZ representatives have a mandate of being a democratically elected statutory body of the 7-million-strong trade union movement. Despite this we do not usurp the right to sole representation in expressing opinions of the working people. Neither have we questioned the right to represent other groups of society by persons selected in another manner.

On behalf of the OPZZ Executive Committee I have been authorized to make the following statement:

First, we are in favor of trade union pluralism provided it meets social expectations;

Second, we are against the introduction of pluralism into the situation of dualism, that is, when two parties fight against each other. Pluralism, in our understanding, means activity of a number of trade unions which would be created by work crews without pressure from outside;

Third, the registration of new trade union organizations should be conducted according to the legal order and practice now in force;

Fourth, the interest of the working people in the case of the introduction of trade union pluralism requires the setting-up of a joint interunion representation at all organizational levels, primarily at work enterprises.

Miodowicz Speaks With Rzeszow Trade Unionists
LD1102002189 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Rzeszow, Feb 10—Chairman of OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Alfred Miodowicz met today with trade unionists of the southern voivodship of Rzeszow to discuss the roundtable, the future of the trade union movement in the conditions of pluralism, the overcoming of the economic crisis, working people's living conditions, prospects for the young and the OPZZ's opinion on whether the guarantees adopted at the roundtable by way of consensus will be observed.

Miodowicz said that there are no such guarantees and emphasized that life will be the test showing in the first place whether the trade unions will be willing to act as a political force or as a trade union movement proper.

Asked to explain the shift from the OPZZ stand which until recently sounded "one union in one plant," towards approval of trade union pluralism, Miodowicz said that the OPZZ could not oppose pluralism, as the general public proved to be for pluralistic solutions. We were aware earlier that such solutions are necessary. However, we were astonished that the process of solving this issue began so soon, said he.

Asked about the reasons behind the strike in Belchatow lignite mine, Miodowicz said that the demands to raise the pay are justified—miners do work hard. But, one should disapprove of the mine managers' signing an agreement with the strike committee, which was an illegal body, instead of an official trade union, said he.

Solidarity's Frasiński on Unionism Working Group
AU1302173889 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 10 Feb 89 pp 1, 6

[Roundup of statements made to ZYCIE WARSZAWY by participants in the meeting of the "roundtable" working group for trade union pluralism held in Warsaw on 9 February: "ZYCIE WARSZAWY Was Told"]

[Excerpt]

Wladyslaw Frasiński

The OPZZ delegation has set out its standpoint, but I am still not too clear about what its proposal on trade union pluralism really amounts to and what its attitude toward Solidarity is. It seems that the OPZZ still does not recognize the union's right to exist, that is, the union that

I represent. As for the government side, it believes that the 10th PZPR Central Committee resolution produced the political decision that permits the introduction of pluralism.

It will be necessary to dispel the whole series of fears and misgivings that exist on both sides. Various restrictions on trade union rights are being suggested to us, that is, in way that means that we should simply impose them on ourselves. On the one hand, it is being said that trade unions should be depoliticized, particularly with reference to Solidarity, and on the other, it is being proposed that we should get involved in very serious politics, in deciding about such important national issues as the elections, and political and economic reforms. It seems to me that it is wrong to discuss these issues at this table, because several other tables have been set up at which these issues can be discussed in a more competent manner.

The depoliticization of Solidarity does not depend on the union alone, but also on the conditions that are created for society to organize itself in a free and unhampered way. There is a great deal of mistrust and apathy in plants that has been produced by the events of the last 7 years. I think that the fact that a "roundtable" is taking place is a very great political event, but that it will not produce quite the results that it could have produced if it had taken place 3 to 4 years earlier. Unfortunately, we are always late with some solutions. So the profound mistrust that exists is the product of bad experience, the experience of martial law, the fact that certain restrictions are still in force, and this is what makes it difficult to motivate people, to create initiative, to get people actively involved in the political life of the country. I think that this could become possible, but that there will have to be a greater opening out on the part of the government. At the moment, I think that there is the will to do just that. [passage omitted]

Sejm Approves Provisions of Socioeconomic Plan
AU0602104789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Feb 89 p 3

["Sejm Resolution on the Government Draft of the 1989-90 National Socioeconomic Plan"]

[Text] The PPR Sejm approves the basic provisions of the 1989-90 National Socioeconomic Plan as a program of government action during this period.

At the same time, the Sejm places the government under an obligation to take into account during its work to consolidate the national economy the remarks contained in the opinion of the Sejm Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance Commission, adopted by this commission following an examination of the above-mentioned plan jointly with other Sejm commissions.

Commission 'Opinion' on Economic Plan
AU0602104889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Feb 89 p 3

["Opinion of the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance Commission Addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Concerning the Government Draft of the 1989-90 National Socioeconomic Plan"]

[Text] The Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance Commission states that the collapse of economic policy which led to the second stage of the economic reform, the dissatisfaction of society, especially as a result of the unsuccessful prices and incomes operation, and the change of government, all justify the working out of a new program laying down government action and defining the functioning of the entire economy. This program should guarantee an effective implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

According to the government, such a program is meant to be the draft 1989-90 National Economic Consolidation Plan, which contains new concepts.

The commission believes that the consolidation plan should be based on an analysis and assessment of present methods of economic reform that is devoid of conservative thinking—an analysis that assesses the present state of the economy and the standard of living, and suggests logical new solutions. The commission underlines the importance of a complete coherence between the economic and legal principles which regulate the functioning of the national economy on the one hand, and the principles and program for structural changes within the economy and in economic policy on the other. The implementation of all these principles should create the prerequisites, during the last 2 years of the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan, for a successful start of the next development stage in accordance with the 1991-5 National Socioeconomic Plan.

Noting the general consensus of views between the commission and the government concerning the aims of the National Economic Consolidation Plan, the commission believes that the activity aimed at improving the conditions for a development of enterprise deserves recognition. However, the commission believes that the draft plan should put greater emphasis on measures to boost supplies. The commission also notes that the proposed range of instruments to implement the consolidation plan is causing major doubts, and that this reveals a discrepancy in relation to the opinions of individual Sejm commissions about the provisions and objectives of this plan.

The provision that no radical steps will be taken over the next 4 years (until 1992) to balance out the central budget, and that the budget will pay for slower price increases by maintaining high-level subsidies, is causing major reservations.

The idea of controlling wages without any systemic links with increased economic efficiency is also causing many doubts. This will not help to increase supplies, but will merely help to push prices up.

The plan should devote more space to important goals like reducing inflation and balancing the market, chiefly by increasing supplies. During the plan's implementation, it is also important to specify tasks in restructuring the economy, especially industry. Against this background, a faster scientific development than planned is called for.

The commission believes that the draft plan, concerning which it has issued this opinion, could provide the basis for working out the final National Economic Consolidation Plan if the remarks, views, and proposals presented during the Sejm debate are taken into consideration. The commission is convinced that the resultant National Economic Consolidation Plan could become the basis for a quicker emergence from the economic crisis.

Piotrkow Voivodship Transport Strike Continues
LD1302184388 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Marek Mamot reports on the strike in Piotrkow voivodship. [passage omitted]

[Mamot] At present, the municipal transport in all the towns of the voivodship is at a standstill. A narrow-gauge railway between Sulejow and Piotrkow, which has been inactive for 3 years has been restarted. Buses belonging to work enterprises are now providing a service on the most frequented routes. However, they are not able to cope with all the needs, and most residents are walking to work. In most work enterprises of the voivodship, including the biggest—the (Pioma) mining machinery factory and the Kara and Hortensja glass foundries—work began without anyone being late.

Wage Increases for Health Workers Reported
AU0902142689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 6 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—There was a consultative meeting between the leadership of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and over 400 representatives of the health workers community in Warsaw on 3 February. The meeting was also attended by a broad representation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Health Employees, with its chairman, Dr Wojciech Guglas.

Health Minister Izabela Planeta-Malecka announced the following:

- There will be enough funds to attain 95 percent of average wages in the material production sphere;
- The Sejm has passed a law on setting wages in the budgetary sphere, making sure that these wages will be kept in line with those in the material production sphere;

—There will be changes to the wage system in the health service, in accordance with the remarks made during consultations.

During a discussion that lasted several hours, a list of essential adjustments was made, and a considerable degree of consensus was achieved. A working team was appointed in order to carry out these adjustments. It commenced work immediately after the meeting. The final version of the new pay principles will be presented at the next Council of Ministers session.

The doctors attending the meeting were informed of the amount of money available to each voivodship.

The ministry believes that, as a result of the government's guarantee to implement these changes, the source of the collective dispute has been eliminated. The new wages are retroactive from 1 January.

Secretary Stepien Comments on Culture, Censorship
AU0102174189 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Marian Stepien, PZPR Central Committee secretary and editor-in-chief of ZDANIE by Piotr Gabryel and Karol Jackowski: "Stalinism Was Not Built by Gnomes"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gabryel, Jackowski] During the "100 Question to..." television program that was broadcast on channel 2 in January you described yourself as someone who supports the maintenance of censorship.

[Stepien] But do you remember how I put it? I said that I support the maintenance of censorship, but that it should not apply to scholarly or artistic works, if so, then it should only apply to very exceptional cases.

[Gabryel, Jackowski] Nevertheless, why are you not in favor of seeing censorship lifted altogether? After all, our censorship system, in its present form, is an anachronism.

[Stepien] One can consider—to use your words—the form of censorship. For example, one could consider whether it would be a good thing—as is the case in some countries—to transfer full responsibility for what is printed to chief editors and publishers? However, I am not at all sure that this would increase the degree of freedom of expression with respect to the written word. The situation could vary greatly. Incidentally, I would like to find time to write a study of Polish literary life in which I would describe the various effects of censorship. I am sure you do not even suspect that the existence of censorship benefits some authors, who use it as an alibi for various shortcomings of theirs. To end, I would like to quote Jerzy Stempowski, who said: "Western opinion greatly exaggerates the phenomenon of censorship in countries ruled by communist governments and fails to

acknowledge that the absence of censorship in the West is the product of chance, the effect of constant changes of government, and of a disregard for literature as an instrument of power."

Paper Carries Call For More Historical Truth
AU0602080689 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI
in Polish 29 Jan 89 pp 1, 4, 5

[Article by Jerzy Eisler: "The Unofficial Truth"]

[Text] For more than a year now, the so-called blank spots in history, especially in recent history, have once again become one of Polish journalism's standing or, as some people would describe it, ersatz topics. A real tide of articles on this subject has swept through the columns of various papers and magazines. A feature common to the overwhelming majority of them is that they describe the actual phenomenon of "blank spots," devoting much attention to what the concept means, but generally refrain from attempting to explain concrete "blank spots." This creates the impression that all those people who are engaged in writing are just waiting for the results of the work of the Polish-Soviet commission to be announced. I would like to view this issue somewhat differently and try to "talk about concrete matters." For me, this article is to serve as a real gauge of the changes that have been taking place in the work of the censor's office for some time now—I would also very much like it to serve the same purpose for those who might read it—and thus, in addition, it is also a gauge of the greater openness and frankness, which is also to apply to history, that the Polish and Soviet political authorities have been proclaiming.

At the outset, it should be stated that, fortunately, the number of "blank spots" in official publishing, that is, the restrictions imposed by the censor's office, are gradually being reduced. There is a growing list of books that were first published in Poland by underground publishing houses and were then, usually a few years later, published officially. The following list provides some example: Jerzy Andrzejewski's "Pulp," Guenther Grass' "The Tin Drum," Pawel Jasienica's "Reflections on the Civil War," and Igor Newerly's "Left Over From the Banquet of the Gods," not to mention official editions of what are already two classic novels by George Orwell, "1984" and "Animal Farm." It is true that none of the works that I have mentioned are scholarly, historical studies, but the first three could surely be placed in the category of the historical novel or essay. The latter does, of course, refer to Jasienica's book. To be fair, it should be noted that the official editions were generally shorter than those published underground.

It is partly due to underground publishing that, despite various restrictions (...) the range of taboo subjects is being reduced, that is, the subjects on which scholarly studies will not be published officially. Literally over the course of the last couple of years, subjects such as the

history of the second republic and—excluding Polish-Soviet relations—the history of Poland and Polish society during World War II have dropped out of the taboo category. Young readers of history books would surely find it hard to believe that just 9 years ago the number of serious, honest, and objective studies devoted to the Home Army published in Poland could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Books on the activities of the home army in the eastern territories of the republic were not published at all.

A similar situation existed with respect to works on independent Poland and was particularly true of popular biographies of politicians and statesmen. Until the end of the 1960's, books of this kind—excluding what were literally a couple of exceptions—did not appear at all in Poland. The fact that today we have biographies of Wincenty Witos, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Wladyslaw Sikorski, and Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski is the product of the last 15 to 20 years. Only a very small number of the monographs and studies dealing with the political history of the Second Republic that were published before 1970 have withstood the test of time. It would appear that the books published over the last few years will withstand this test better. They are, quite simply, incomparably more objective and this, in my opinion, is due as much to the use of more extensive sources as to greater responsibility and intellectual honesty on the part of their authors, and finally, a more liberal censorship policy in this area. I would even venture to say that today it would probably be possible to have scholarly studies on almost any subject connected with the history of Poland between the wars that was published officially. Unfortunately, the situation is not so good with respect to what comes after that.

I mentioned that the "blank spot" or perhaps "blank spots" in the history of Poland and Polish society during World War II are due to certain aspects and events connected with Polish-Soviet relations during this period. What usually appears in this context is the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and its secret appendix on the division of central Europe between Hitler's Germany and the Soviet Union under Stalin. As we know, the authenticity of this document, which was published in the West more than 40 years ago, is still questioned in the Soviet Union today. However, does this automatically mean that the document is not genuine and that there was no secret Soviet-German agreement concerning central Europe and, therefore, Poland? We can go on to ask what is thought about this subject by Polish historians, specialists in recent history, and by historians in other country. Finally, we can ask what the general public in Poland knows about this subject. What is thought by the so-called ordinary person, especially by older people who have personal recollections of 1939?

Something else that usually crops up in discussing Polish-Soviet relations during World War II is the date 17 September 1939 and all that it entailed: what some like to call Soviet aggression against Poland and others

describe as the liberation of the populations of the western Ukraine and western Belorussia from Polish rule. Once again, young readers have no idea at all that just a few years ago terms such as "camp" [Russian word "lagier" used], "the deportation of Poles far into Russia" and "exile" did not appear at all in historical works published officially. For more than 30 years, the one term that could be used to describe the tragic fate of hundreds of thousands (millions?) of Polish citizens who lived or found themselves in territory occupied by the Red Army and were forcibly resettled, under appalling conditions, in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and other regions of the Soviet Union was "the vicissitudes of war saw them cast deep into the USSR." Millions of Poles living in Poland and abroad knew that in this case the "vicissitudes of war" was simply a synonym for the NKVD, but this could not be said in print.

Today, the term "Soviet occupation" appears in documents quoted in a series of books published by PAX on various less well-known resistance groups that operated in Poland during World War II. (—) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204) [previous sentence as published] This allows it to be conjectured that something like a "Soviet occupation" did indeed take place, or at least, that that was how things were perceived and seen at the time by formations, organizations, and political-military structures connected with the Government delegate for Poland, who was accountable to the commander in chief and the Polish Government-in-exile, which means that in practical terms that was how things were seen by almost the entire Polish underground (with the exception of communist groupings).

Finally, there is Katyn: the "blankest of the blank spots" or, as others would put it, the "blackest of the black spots" that appears in discussions of Polish-Soviet relations during World War II. (—) (Law of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204) For many people who read history books, the way in which this tragic affair is treated determines their assessment of an entire work, although the account can often amount to less than a hundredth part of the whole work. It is a gauge of the author's honesty. That Katyn is a symbol is attested to by the fact that slogans such as "We remember Katyn" appear on the walls of Polish cities from time to time. So, let us ask what the people who write these slogans remember.

Before I try to answer this question, I would like to make a general assertion. It is quite widely believed that it is possible to conceal the truth about certain events from large groups of people, and even from entire societies.

Let us consider whether this is true. I think that this is possible to a certain extent. It can be the case when propaganda does not use slander and lies, but relies on silence.

What allows me to say this? History... and forgetting it. How else can one explain the fact that millions of Poles, and not just young Poles, have never heard anything about the pogrom that took place in Kielce in July 1946? At this point, someone might say that the Kielce pogrom primarily affected the Jewish community, that it affected one town (although that is not entirely true, because similar pogroms took place in other Polish towns at the time, but fortunately they were not as brutal and bloody anywhere else), that it was overshadowed and continues to be overshadowed by other events (coincident) with the struggle for power during the first few years after the war. That is all true, but is not the case that public ignorance on this subject, and I maintain that the so-called average citizen and even the average young person who reads history books has simply never heard of the Kielce pogrom, is to some extent due to the fact that for 35 years nothing was written or at any rate published on this subject?

I would like to provide another example for those who are still not convinced. How was it possible that for almost a quarter of a century a young generation of Poles actually knew nothing about the watershed of 1956, about the intellectual achievements of the political, social, historical, and cultural discussions that took place at the time? It should be added that for our parents, October 1956, everything associated with this term, was the same or a very similar youthful experience to our experience of August 1980 and everything that was later linked to it or negated it. So how was it possible that we knew almost nothing about it for almost 25 years? I knew nothing that was really concrete and definite about the year 1956—I, a young historian, and millions of my contemporaries, almost an entire generation of "the children of Stalinism." Why was that the case? Why did we know almost nothing about the tragic events in the streets of Poznan? I can only think of one answer: We were simply not told. For more than 20 years nothing was written on this subject in Poland. At least, nothing appeared in print. As a historian, I think that the worst that can be done to the past is not to make it repugnant, to falsify, to distort, or lie about it, but to simply remain silent. In my opinion, this kind of historical nonexistence is the worst thing that can happen.

However, for millions of Poles, Katyn has always had a historical existence. Although there was nothing written and published on the subject officially, it continued to live on in the historical awareness of many Poles. I would now like to return to a question that I raised earlier, namely, that of the public memory (if something like that exists at all, because memory is by its very nature something individual, and concerns specific, concrete people) with respect to Katyn. We could ask: Is there even one Pole, who has ever heard of Katyn (—) (Law

of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204). Does this mean that there are no eyewitness accounts, documents, or other evidence that would allow historians to say—in a way that leaves no doubts—who bears the responsibility for the crime committed at Katyn?

Of course, that is not the case. The fact that are no witnesses, or at any rate none have come forward, to the executions that took place in the forest near Smolensk cannot be a reason for historians not to attempt—on the basis of various, often secondary, accounts, reports, and documents—to establish who bears responsibility for the crime. It should be pointed out that historians seldom have reliable and detailed eyewitness accounts. In general, historians approach sources of this kind with reservations (one reason being that they are often one-sided, or even tendentious) and they seek to recreate the past by using a more diverse range of source materials.

Speaking in the Sejm in March, Deputy Ryszard Bender called for an explanation of the Katyn question. (—) (Law of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204)

It has to be clearly stated that the Katyn question, like the other "questions" pertaining to Polish-Soviet relations mentioned in this article or the many that have not been mentioned, belong to the realm of politics more than to that of history. So, a possible statement issued by the mixed commission of Polish and Soviet historians will primarily be of political and I would say moral value, and only then of scholarly value. (—) (Law of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204)

However, the topic with which I begun this article should not be forgotten, namely, that not only the state monopoly on information, but also the state monopoly on the propagation of scholarly and artistic works is a thing of the past. In view of this, I think that role of the censor should undergo at least a partial change. (—) (Law of 31 July, 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 20, Item 99, previous month, 1983, OFFICIAL GAZETTE, No. 44, Item 204). This fact cannot be ignored, and what history teaches us should also be borne in mind, that is to say, that it is impossible to completely conceal the historical truth for longer periods of time.

Letter on Soviet 1939-41 Deportations of Poles
AU1402100989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
(HISTORIA I ZYCIE supplement)
in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 3

["Letter to the editor of HISTORIA I ZYCIE: West of the Border"]

[Text] In connection with the communique that appeared in ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 3-4 December and the results of the third meeting of Polish and Soviet historians, I would like to say the following about the information concerning the printing of reports on the resettlement and deportation of Poles from areas in the western part of Belorussia and the western Ukraine: I consider the use of this geographical term in relation to the deportations of Poles to be inappropriate in that it is only partially true, because the deportation of Poles to remote regions of the USSR not only occurred in areas that were deemed to be Belorussian or Ukrainian after World War II. I think that it should be obvious to historians and it is quite widely known among Poles that members of the Polish population were also deported from areas west of the present border with the USSR. Surely no one would deny that these areas are historically and ethnically Polish.

It is difficult for me to express an opinion on the scale and frequency of deportations to the Soviet Union of members of the Polish population from areas deemed Belorussian or Ukrainian and from native Polish areas. One thing is certain, the deportations did take place, and they were not sporadic incidents. This is verifiable, and there is proof, the most convincing proof being the testimony of the people who survived this fate. There are still many people living in these areas who were witnesses to the deportations and the return from exile of families that had invariably lost members. In view of the appalling living conditions (the lack of housing, inadequate food rations and hunger, and hard work), most older men in particular remained on Soviet soil forever, and that is where their remains are buried.

I would like to point out that the area extending from the present border with the USSR to places such as Malkinia and places about 20 km from Ostrow Mazowiecki were under Soviet administration from 1939 (October-November) to 1941 (22 June). I was living in this area at the time. My knowledge of the situation is based on personal observations. I know that, for example, three families were deported to the Soviet Union from just one village near Zambrow and not all the members of these families were to return.

I kindly ask you to submit my note to the Commission for the History of Relations Between the USSR and the PPR, the chairman of the Polish side being Prof Jarek Maciszewski.

Hieronim Brajczewski.

Reader's Letter on Katyn, Other Murders
AU0302155689 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
(Supplement: *HISTORIA I ZYCIE*) in Polish
27 Jan 89 p 4

[Letter from reader Dariusz Piotrowski to the editor of the *HISTORIA I ZYCIE* (HISTORY AND LIFE) supplement of *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*: "To the editor of *HISTORIA I ZYCIE*"]

[Text] After years of silence, one's memory of the Polish Army officers who were murdered in Katyn is now being restored. Initiatives like the latest one from PRON about awarding these officers suitable decorations for defending the fatherland in 1939, or the SD idea of setting up an urn at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw containing soil from Katyn, are encountering understandable support.

However, Mr Editor, Katyn is only one of the places where Polish officers met tragic deaths in the east. In Katyn there are the remains of inmates from the camp in Kozhelsk, and yet we know nothing about the fate of the Polish officers who were in the Ostashkov and Starobelsk camps.

While we remember those who were murdered in Katyn, we must not forget these others. Lists of missing officers are to be found. Some were obtained from the army staff of General Anders, and many other documents are in the hands of the International Red Cross in Geneva. One can refer to them, so that no one is forgotten.

At this time of "glasnost," it does not seem impossible for our authorities or institutions to ask Soviet society, via the USSR press if necessary, for help in at least finding the places where the officers who were murdered in Ostashkov and Starobielsk lie.

Commission for Victims of Stalinism Established
LD1102205389 Warsaw PAP in English
1708 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 11—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received today General Roman Paszkowski who presented the issues being currently worked on by the Council for the Protection of Memory of the Struggle and Martyrdom.

Meeting half-way numerous social postulates discussed recently in the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON and the Council for the Protection of Memory of the Struggle and Martyrdom, a commission for commemoration of victims of the Stalinist period repressions has been set up.

It will operate at the Council for the Protection of Memory of the Struggle and Martyrdom.

The commission's goal is, with a broad cooperation of the local branches of the council, institutions, organizations and individual persons interested, to collect and verify information on facts, places and victims of the Stalinist period and to commemorate them.

Zenon Komender became the commission's chairman.

Polonia Urges Redress of 1946 'Wronged' Generals
LD0802214689 Warsaw PAP in English
1910 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8—The roundtable debates, now in session, draw closer the materialization of the idea to organize a roundtable meeting between Poland and Polish communities abroad suggested by the "Polonia" society for contacts with expatriate Poles, said Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak at a meeting of the society's chief council here today.

The meeting assessed the society's work last year and mapped out plans for 1989.

The Council passed a resolution related to stripping 76 commanders of the Polish Armed Forces staying in the West of the Polish citizenship in 1946. This concerned 6 generals: Wladyslaw Anders, Antoni Chrusciel, Stanislaw Kopanski, Stanislaw Maczek, Tadeusz Malinowski and Karol Masny, among others. The unjust act, the resolution stressed, was accompanied by a slanderous propaganda campaign.

On November 23, 1971, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution, which was never published, cancelling the resolution of 26 September, 1946 which stripped 75 officers of their citizenship. Commander of the Second Corps General Wladyslaw Anders, now dead, was left deprived of the Polish citizenship.

The chief council of the "Polonia" society expressed conviction in its resolution that it is high time to publicly declare that the decisions of 1946 were wrong and unjustified in all cases, including General Anders's, and to voice regret for harm done to Poland's soldiers merited for their Motherland.

Redressing of the harm will be of a great moral significance for the national reconciliation at home and for coming to terms with compatriots abroad, the "Polonia" 's activists stated.

Gorbachev Thanks Ceausescu for Earthquake Aid
AU1402083989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
10 Feb 89 p 5

[Cable by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, thanking for aid given to Armenian earthquake victims]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, all the Soviet people, and myself personally, I express profound gratitude to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and all the Romanian people for the solidarity shown in connection with the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

The compassion shown by the Romanian people, who experienced the devastating earthquake of 1977, and their disinterested aid to those who had to suffer in Armenia are considered by the Soviet people as a telling proof of our fraternal friendship, which is asserting itself as a great strength in moments of great trial.

M. Gorbachev

Ceausescu Interviews With Finnish Daily

Text of Interview

AU1302201689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
10 Feb 89 pp 1, 6

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview for KANSAN UUTISSET Daily of Finland," in Bucharest on 1 February]

[Text] As announced, on 1 February 1989 Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, received Yrjö Rautio, chief editor of the Finnish daily KANSAN UUTISSET, to whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Mr President, the RCP has conducted a number of discussions on the ways and means to further develop the socialist society in Romania. Please tell our readers about some of the Romanian people's achievements and future socioeconomic development plans and about various aspects of the programs to develop and modernize Romania's towns and villages.

Answer: During 1988, our party and the entire society conducted broad discussions—on the basis of the April Theses adopted by the PEC of the Central Committee—on current problems of socialist construction and on the prospects for Romania's socioeconomic development. These discussions concluded with a broadly democratic

forum, namely the plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee and of our revolutionary workers democracy bodies, where some 4,000 party-state activists from all sectors participated.

The balance sheet of these broad discussions led to the conclusion that in the years of socialist construction Romania and the Romanian people have obtained outstanding achievements in developing the forces of production, science, education, and culture and in raising the overall material and intellectual living standard.

In a short historical period of some 40 years, Romania has turned from a poorly developed and predominantly agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country with a strong and modern industry, organized on the basis of the latest scientific-technological achievements, and with a socialist agriculture in full development. In 1988, the industrial production was 120 times higher than in 1945, while agricultural production registered a more than 8-fold growth. I would particularly like to emphasize the strong development of science, education, and culture, which are decisive elements of our socioeconomic progress and of the successful construction of the socialist society. On this basis, the national income has increased by about 36 times and the overall remuneration fund by more than 75 times. I would like to point out that, concurrently with the overall development of the forces of production, we paid particular attention to deploying industry and other socioeconomic activities throughout the country and developing agriculture in all areas and countries, proceeding from the fact that one should ensure ever better working and living conditions for all the country's inhabitants. This explains why we built some 180 new industrial platforms—each one of them with several large enterprises—which contributed to the overall increase in the level of civilization and of economic development.

At the same time, we paid particular attention to housing construction and to the systematization and modernization of localities, primarily the towns, in order to strongly increase the number of inhabitants of urban centers in that period. Likewise, we concerned ourselves with organizing rural localities better and developing social and, especially, economic activities. We did this in order to create better living conditions and satisfy the requirements of the village inhabitants. We proceeded and continue to take steps to develop our villages to reduce essential differences between towns and villages, by raising both the economic and the social living standards in villages.

One can say that we have accomplished much in this respect; however, since priority was given to the development of urban centers there are still serious lags in the development of the villages. Therefore, proceeding from the current state of the country's overall development,

particularly of the towns, we plan to pay greater attention to villages in the coming period and to raising their overall socioeconomic level. We aim to create the best possible working, living, educational, health, cultural, and other conditions there.

We know that it takes time to approximate the conditions in towns and villages, but we proceeded and continue, keeping in mind we cannot build socialism while further maintaining the villages in a state of backwardness and that it is absolutely necessary to grant them the necessary attention in order to achieve this strategic goal in a time period that is in keeping with the possibilities of the Romanian society. Only then will we be able to say that the Romanian socialist society has fully resolved all the problems of its socioeconomic development!

The Romanian people are perfectly aware of this problem and the achievements we have scored in our socialist development make us confident of the success of our endeavors.

We plan to continue to pay all necessary attention to the socioeconomic development of the entire society, on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. We have embarked upon intensive development, by laying particular emphasis on better organizing and modernizing the entire activity and firmly applying the principles of self-management and self-administration. We pay greater attention to the better functioning of our democratic framework of socioeconomic management, which ensures the participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and other categories of working people, practically of all the people, in running all sectors of activity. We proceeded and continue to set out from the fact that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that everything we achieve must be in accordance with conditions and realities prevailing in Romania and must also take into account the objective laws of development and the principles of scientific socialism.

Question: Esteemed Mr President, we would be grateful to you if you were to refer to the way in which the national problem was solved in Romania and to the results scored along the road of creating equal conditions and rights for all your country's citizens in the socioeconomic and cultural spheres.

Answer: In its policies, the RCP—and generally speaking all democratic forces in our country—has always advocated full equality of rights among all the country's citizens, regardless of any differences. The socialist revolution has implemented these principles in actual fact, by creating relations of full equality.

The country's Constitution stipulates in detail all these basic principles—concerning both the rights and the obligations of all Romania's citizens, regardless of differences—and we are pleased to note that we have fully implemented these constitutional provisions in the years

of socialist construction. One can say that all Romania's citizens, including those of different national origins, enjoy all rights in all socioeconomic, educational, and cultural spheres.

The strong development of the forces of production, education, science, and culture throughout the country has ensured and continues to ensure the best possible conditions for the implementation of this full equality of rights! This is also reflected in all the people's unity within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and in the active participation of the entire nation in implementing Romania's domestic and foreign policy.

Question: Esteemed Mr President, we would like to know your opinion about the new evolutions in several socialist countries. How do you envisage the future of socialism?

Answer: In its socialist construction, Romania has set out, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, from the fact that socialism is being differently built from one country to another and one stage to another, in accordance with realities prevailing in each country. As I have already said, we believed and continue to believe that this entire activity should take into account both the overall social laws and the basic principles of socialism.

As a matter of fact, Romania has acted in accordance with these laws and principles and, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, adopted democratic organizational forms of management and an economic system of self-management and self-administration, in keeping with the country's socioeconomic requirements; the subsequent results were good.

However, in our entire activity, we have taken and continue to take into consideration the need to further improve managerial forms and to develop our democracy, so as to continuously apply the new achievements of science, technology, experience, and practice in all spheres. Nothing can be solved once and for all! Life itself shows that something that can be very good today, after a while may no longer satisfy the new requirements of socioeconomic development, in view of the changes that have occurred in the meantime.

This is the spirit in which we view the concerns of some countries with improving society and socialist construction.

Generally speaking, these concerns are necessary and right. Some problems should have been solved much sooner, something which would have positively influenced the entire course of development. However, there are also certain approaches which we do not understand and which we believe that are not best suited to the principles of socialist development.

The very idea of improving the socialist society, just as any other society, on the basis of the new scientific achievements and results, implies a step forward, not backward!

Therefore, we believe that anything that is tantamount to a certain renunciation of some socialist principles and that paves the road for certain forms of capitalist ownership is not in accordance with the principles of socialist improvement on the basis of scientific socialism. But of course, each party and each country solves its own problems as it thinks best, in accordance with its own realities. Life, the true judge, will prove the extent to which some of these measures are right or wrong!

However, if we are to consider the overall social development in our current stage, I would like to emphasize that we believe that certain hardships and problems that have appeared in the process of socialist development do not and cannot diminish in any way the essence and strength of scientific socialism or the future prospects of mankind's development along the road of socialism.

As far as we are concerned, we are firmly convinced that socialism, through its achievements today, has proved its strength and superiority as a social system, while also taking into consideration certain shortcomings and deficiencies. We are convinced that only by embarking upon the road of socialism—which should be built in accordance with the realities prevailing in each country—will the peoples be able to thoroughly eliminate exploitation, oppression, and inequality and to ensure their social development on the basis of the superior principles of equality and social justice, which should ensure the free assertion of the human personality and of each nation. Therefore, we have complete trust in Romania's socialist future and in mankind's socialist future!

Question: The Finnish readers know that Romania has good relations with other socialist countries. What are your guidelines for these relations and what are the prospects for their future comprehensive development?

Answer: Romania has always acted and continues to act to broadly develop relations with the socialist countries, with the belief that this is a prerequisite for the development of each country and for the assertion of the overall socialist principles. We proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that the relations among socialist countries should be based on the principles of equality, respect for independence, and noninterference in domestic affairs. As a matter of fact, we considered and continue to believe that these are the only valid principles for relations among states, regardless of their social system. Any violation of these principles, including by the socialist countries themselves, can only affect—and as is well-known, has actually affected at a certain time—the relations between some socialist countries.

One can say that we are currently going through a period when steps are being resolutely taken to eliminate the old misunderstandings and strengthen solidarity and cooperation; this is a very good thing, which contributes to increasing the role of the socialist countries in the

resolution of the complex problems of contemporary world, particularly in the spheres of disarmament, peace, and the establishment of new relations among all nations in the world.

Question: Romania's active position in international relations is well-known. Please tell us about your country's current initiatives and stands on such problems as: disarmament, detente, the Middle East conflict, and so forth.

Answer: Indeed, Romania has carried out an intensive international activity, by developing ties with all states, regardless of social system. We considered and continue to believe that, at a time when several large groups of countries with different social systems exist in the world, the development of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equal rights, and noninterference in domestic affairs is an objective requirement.

We have paid and continue to pay particular attention to the problems of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. We believe that the existence of nuclear arms and of other mass destruction weapons is a serious danger for the existence of life itself on our planet. Therefore, we spoke out and continue to speak out firmly for eliminating all nuclear arms and the chemical weapons and for reducing conventional armaments and military expenditures.

The steps taken thus far along this line are only a beginning! There are still large quantities of nuclear weapons. NATO is engaged in a discussion on the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons and on the need to maintain the so-called nuclear deterrent, which practically means the maintenance of the possible use of nuclear weapons in a future war.

All this strongly shows that there has been no radical change in the attitude of all states concerning the impossibility of the use of nuclear weapons! Therefore, Romania believes that all nations and all realistic political forces should intensify their efforts to completely eliminate the policy of force and threat of force and the policy of nuclear or other kind of deterrence and to resolutely proceed to concluding appropriate agreements on the total elimination of nuclear, chemical, and other mass destruction weapons. Only thus will mankind be able to lead a secure life, without the danger of a destructive nuclear war!

We speak out for solving all conflicts through negotiations alone. Several steps have already been taken along this line. We believe that one should proceed to organizing an international conference on Middle East problems, with the participation of all interested countries, including the new Palestinian state, so as to find a political solution to the Middle East conflict, which can ensure the independent development of all states in that region in conditions of full security, fully solve the Palestinian problems, recognize the Palestinian people's

rights, and ensure their development in their own free state. It is obvious that, in this framework, we also mean to ensure the security and independence of Israel and of all peoples in that area.

Question: Romania and Finland follow identical goals concerning the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and northern Europe. What is your opinion on the significance of nuclear-free zones in the framework of overall disarmament?

Answer: Indeed, Romania and Finland, together with the countries in their respective areas, want to achieve nuclear-free zones.

Concerning the Balkans, Romania, along with the other countries, advocates the creation of a nuclear- and chemical-free zone, without foreign military bases. Romania believes that only a comprehensive agreement, which applies to all the Balkan countries, can set up such a zone capable of ensuring the peaceful coexistence and free socioeconomic development of the respective peoples—of course, in the framework of the concerns with totally eliminating these weapons from Europe and throughout the world.

We consider the creation of such zones as just a beginning and a part of the overall concerns with eliminating these weapons from Europe and our planet. Because, without this total elimination, the existence of the respective zones alone will not be able, in the event of a general conflict, to prevent the spreading of the effects of nuclear weapons in their countries.

Question: At the latest UN General Assembly session, Romania was very active in the sphere of environmental protection as a global strategy, particularly in the search for efficient measures against harmful industrial waste. Could you give us some details and assessments on this key issue for mankind?

Answer: As is well-known, today environmental protection is one of the most important problems for all nations and areas. We believe that the causes which have led and continue to lead to the worsening of the environment have not yet been fully understood.

In our opinion, there is a tendency to avoid tackling these problems in their totality. Little or nothing at all is said about the negative effects of nuclear tests, which are still continuing, and about space flights, which undoubtedly have a negative impact on various layers of the atmosphere, including the ozone layer.

We believe that tackling only certain aspects of this issue will not lead to a better understanding of the problem or to the adoption of efficient measures which can halt the worsening of the environmental situation! In this respect, all peoples—which are and will continue to be affected by this state of affairs to a certain extent—

should adopt a more resolute position and should participate more actively in the efforts to find the causes and the necessary solutions to halt the deterioration of and improve the environment.

Of course, there is also the question of industrial waste and its disposal. Such problems as the development of certain industrial activities or afforestation are also part of this issue; but, I repeat, the question of totally banning nuclear tests and adequately regulating the use of outer space—which should be preserved as it has developed during the course of our planet's history—are equally important, to say the least. This is one of the decisive issues for the future and health of all of mankind!

In its domestic policy, Romania has acted and will continue to act along these lines, by taking appropriate measures to commendably preserve the environment.

Question: Mr President, we would be very grateful to you if you were to present your opinion of the CSCE conference in Vienna. Romania has had several reservations about the Final Document of the conference. How should one understand these reservations?

Answer: Romania is among the countries which played an active role during the Helsinki conference in working out and adopting the 1975 documents.

Concerning the CSCE conference in Vienna, we worked to reach even better understandings, which can pave the road for a broad scientific-technical and cultural cooperation among all European nations, regardless of social system.

We spoke out and continue to speak out for a united Europe of free and equal nations!

Unfortunately, we must say that attitudes that run counter to the Helsinki basic document seeped through the proceedings and even found their way in the document adopted in Vienna; this document insufficiently covers the key problems of the human rights, such as the right to work, education, health, housing, and so forth. On the other hand, it reflects certain positions that pave the road for interference in the domestic affairs of other states.

In view of all this, Romania formulated its reservations in a special statement, which expressed our determination to continue to work for developing cooperation among the European countries on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, for promoting a broad economic and scientific-technological cooperation, and for renouncing any attempts at interference in the domestic affairs of other states.

We are firmly determined to continue to work to develop broad cooperation among the European countries in all spheres and to promote greater unity and solidarity among our continent's countries, so as to ensure the socioeconomic progress, independence, and sovereignty of each nation.

Question: Mr President, please tell us your opinion about the relations between Romania and Finland in the political, commercial, and cultural spheres and about the prospects for developing a fruitful cooperation between our two countries.

Answer: One can say that the relations between Romania and Finland have been and continue to be good. Our countries have very close positions on many issues and even identical ones, on some of them. The economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations between our countries have registered an appropriate development. However, I would like to openly say that, in my opinion, our countries's potential in this respect is much greater.

As far as we are concerned, we advocate and will work to identify new fields for Romanian-Finnish cooperation in all spheres, which is in accordance with the interests of the two nations and of cooperation in Europe and peace in the world.

In conclusion, I would like to extend to your readers and to the friendly Finnish people wishes for best achievements in the socioeconomic field and in the strengthening of their independence as well as wishes for health and happiness!

Interview Criticized

LD1102195989 Helsinki International Service
in Finnish 1600 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] An interview with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu published in the main organ of the Finnish People's Democratic League [SKDL] KANSAN UUTISET, has aroused anger within the People's Democratic movement. The interview is considered uncritical and it is feared that it will give a false image of the SKDL's attitude toward events in Romania. The KANSAN UUTISET interview was criticized today by, among others, SKDL Chairman Reijo Kaekelae. A report by Jouni Turunen:

[Turunen] When friction develops between a party leadership and its main organ, the problem usually is that the paper strives to allow new winds to blow more briskly than the party office is prepared to allow. The case with the SKDL and its main newspaper, KANSAN UUTISET, seems now to be the opposite. The SKDL has recently tried to create a public image that, among Finns, it is marching in the forefront in relation to the policy of reform in the socialist countries of East Europe. The SKDL has, for instance, openly developed relations with the Estonian Popular Front.

Consequently, the SKDL leadership was stupefied at the interview with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, published by KANSAN UUTISET yesterday. In the interview, President Ceausescu was asked, among other things, to describe the achievements of the Romanian economy and the village modernization program. To the questions, presented in a flattering tone, the paper received answers in an all-is-well-in-Romania style. The paper did not complement the Romanian picture, given by the interview, with any other material.

Editor Yrjoe Rautio, who conducted the interview, today became the target of fierce criticism by former SKDL Secretary General Jorma Hentilae. Under the heading "Cringing and Lies," Hentilae asks whether the person who went to Romania to write the story failed to notice the queues, hundreds of meters long, outside the food shops. Hentilae also criticizes the fact that the interviewer speaks about the village modernization program, although the project in fact means the destruction of Hungarian villages. The national oppression practiced by Romania has already been raised within the CSCE, Hentilae added.

Bitter criticism of the Ceausescu interview in KANSAN UUTISET was also expressed by SKDL Chairman Reijo Kaekelae, who took up the matter today at a Finnish Communist Party Central Committee meeting.

Yrjoe Rautio, the editor and the person who conducted the interview, responds to the charges in his own column in his newspaper. He explains the tone of the interview by saying that the questions, sent in advance, had to be altered several times at the demand of the Romanian hosts, and the final questions hardly resembled the original questions. For instance, a question concerning relations between Romania and Hungary had to be dropped, likewise the words perestroika and glasnost. Rautio says that after this he hesitated about the whole interview, but conducted it, however, for the reason, among others, that the Romanian president's interviews in the Western press are rare news events, exceeding the international thresholds.

The SKDL leadership held the view today, however, that the story should have been left well alone after the appearance of the restrictions. The fear is that the tone of the interview is now equated with the party's line. However, the leaders were prepared to dismiss what happened as a bad case of bungling. The world is changing: A few years ago the Romania story by KANSAN UUTISET would not have given any cause for criticism by the party leadership. The fuss then would have arisen over the paper's story today, dealing with Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and its heading: "A Rotten Trip, But We Made It".

Ceausescu Cables Iranian President

AU1302211989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
11 Feb 89 p 5

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on national day]

[Text] To Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran,

On the National Day of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I extend to you best wishes for personal health and happiness as well as wishes for the Iranian people's peace and prosperity.

I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Iran will continue to register an upward course, to the benefit of the Romanian and Iranian peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and cooperation in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Iran's Larijani Meets Andrei in Bucharest

LD1102080789 Tehran IRNA in English
0723 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 11, IRNA—Iran's deputy foreign minister Mohammad-Javad Larijani who is visiting Bucharest, met with deputy prime minister of Romania Stefan Andrei Friday.

Larijani and Andrei reviewed Iran-Romania relations and business, industrial and trade exchanges between the two countries.

The Romanian official announced his country's readiness to participate in Iran's post-war reconstruction and called for the signing of a long-term economic agreement in principle with Iran.

Stoian Meets Israel's Vice Premier Peres

AU1202182589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1713 GMT 12 Feb 89

["Romanian-Israeli Exchange of Messages"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tel Aviv AGERPRES 12/2/1989—Shim'on Peres, deputy prime minister of the State of Israel, minister of finance, chairman of Israel Labour Party, received Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who pays a visit to Israel as special envoy of the Romanian president. On the occasion, from President Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of success in activities were conveyed to the Israeli deputy prime minister.

Expressing his deep gratitude for the salute and wishes conveyed, Shim'on Peres asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed the expression of his feelings of high esteem and considerations, of special respect for the activity devoted to the continual development of Romania, and the ensurance of peace worldwide. The Romanian head of state was also conveyed wishes of new and greater successes in his activity.

During the talk, the fine links between Romania and Israel were called forth and emphasis was placed on the efforts made by the president of Romania for political solutions, to be reached and for the negotiated settlement of the Mideast issues. Stress was also laid on the positive course of the ties between the Romanian Communist Party and Israel Labour Party.

While in Israel, Ion Stoian also met Elazar Granot, secretary-general of the United Workers Party of Israel-Mapam.

Andrei, Ungur Meet U.S. Businessman Robertson

AU1002193389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1857 GMT 10 Feb 89

["Romanian-American Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/02/1989—10 February, Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, received Robert Robertson, deputy chairman of the Romanian-American Economic Council, vice president of the organization "American Businessmen for International Trade", now visiting Romania.

Reference was made to problems related to the possibilities to develop the industrial and technical cooperation between Romanian enterprises and American firms, in domains of mutual interest.

The guest also had talks with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Computer Technology, Competitiveness Noted

AU1002102889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0954 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/2/1989—Large-memory computers Felix 5000 have been developed by Bucharest's computer enterprise for use in great economic units where big databases are required to meet the growing demand for information in the Romanian economy and on world markets. Also of Romanian design are the high-speed and easy-of-access memory Coral and Independent computer families, Coral 4021 and Coral 8730, and Independent f/4m and Independent 106 are modern compact modular equipment that can give simultaneous access to up to 16 independent users. And so are the high-performance microcomputers m 118, cd 80, cub 7z, hc 85, cce, the spot 83 industrial process computer and the IBM compatible Felix pc personal

computer, complete with alpha-numeric and graphic videoterminals vdt 52 sa, vdt 52 sb, vdt 232, vdt 125, etc. Miniaturization and lower costs per microprocessor and their circuitry have ended up in thousands of microprocessors incorporated in one computer and in the steady diversification of their applications. So, for instance, computer assisted design, computer assisted manufacture and computer assisted engineering systems are used in research and design activities.

That production renewal has been in the focus of the Bucharest enterprise shows in its over 80 percent new product index in 1988. ICE [Electronic Computer Enterprise] Bucharest has improved also its exporter status, with foreign deliveries rising 32.2 percent in 1988 from 1987.

Incentives To Increase Agricultural Production
AU1002172589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1651 GMT 10 Feb 89

["A Strong Incentive For a Growing Agricultural Production"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/02/1989—It is with satisfaction that Romania's cooperative farmers have learnt of a recent decision of the CC of the RCP's Executive Political Committee to increase their grains and vegetables quota as part of their pay in kind, and to improve the whole pay in kind system as part of general remuneration.

Starting this year larger quantities of grains and vegetables will be set aside for the pay in kind (550,000 more tonnes of wheat and 510,000 more tonnes of corn—with the rises ranging from 10 to 14 per cent for the farming units in the first agricultural zone, and from 12 to 16 per cent for those in the second zone). The vegetables pay-in-kind quota is raised to 30 per cent, from 20 per cent, for both zones. With pay in kind for food and fodder amounting to 150 kg wheat and 150 kg corn for every working cooperative farmer, every dependant as well as every farmer pensioner, five million people will benefit by these products. Adding to that is the extra amount of wheat and corn that working farmers may earn depending on the number of norms they managed and their contribution to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan, and the production the cooperative farmers manage on their plot of land. This averages 800-900 kg of grains per person in every family, for food as well as for the raising and fattening of a growing livestock.

The new measures to improve the pay in kind and the overall agreement system on producer cooperative farms are a strong incentive for cooperative farmers to increase per hectare yields. They add to last year's measures to raise the pay in the other sectors of the national economy.

Trade Union Chief Comments on Activity, Tasks
AU1302152189 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
7 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Miu Dobrescu, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and chairman of the General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions, by unidentified reporter: "The Romanian Trade Unions Do Not See the Need for Change"—date and place not given]

[Text] Miu Dobrescu, who spent a few days in Budapest on the occasion of the regional trade union conference, had already been informed in Bucharest about our intention to interview him prior to his arrival. He had formulated the answers to our questions in the preliminary information prior to his departure from Bucharest. He gave us the Romanian and Hungarian texts of the interview in Budapest with the condition that nothing can be changed in the text because this was approved at a very high level. Although he answered our questions concerning the "village systematization" plans by precisely repeating the official Romanian position, he did not agree to this part of the interview being published, claiming that an answer to the relevant question could be found in his lecture at the conference, a lecture which was also approved at a very high level. However, the trade union conference was not open to the public, so we had to do without these answers. As we have not made the slightest change on the manuscript, we use this introduction to thank Miu Dobrescu for the "interview."

[Question] What changes took place in your trade union movement in 1988?

[Answer] With no need to change their orientation, the Romanian trade unions were striving in 1988 to continue to improve their activity, work style, and methods in all areas. Trade union members and bodies, including the plenary session of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, discussed these issues thoroughly. Decisions and measures were adopted which would enable our trade unions to play a greater role in our country's economic and social life, in implementing the production tasks facing the enterprises, and in solving the workers' social issues and every other problem in the sphere of authority of the trade unions.

[Question] Please, tell us about your trade unions' activity and basic tasks for 1989.

[Answer] In his program-address at the joint meeting of the RCP Central Committee Plenum and the bodies of revolutionary workers democracy and of social and mass organizations held in November 1988, our party general secretary and president, Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out both the deep revolutionary changes in our countries and the problems facing our society in the current phase of our socialist construction. He stressed that, under the circumstances of a technical and scientific revolution and of an intensive national economy development, increasing

emphasis should be laid on perfecting production organization and modernizing production, making wide use of the latest scientific and technological achievements in production, productivity and increasing the efficiency of our entire economic activity, improving the technical and qualitative level of our products, saving energy, fuel, raw and secondary materials, and on making economic use of all recoverable and recyclable products.

We are firmly convinced that the prosperity of our workers and of our entire people directly depends on their efforts and on increasing our national wealth. Therefore, implementation of the goals stipulated at the aforementioned plenum is a major task facing our trade unions too.

We have been focusing our activity on implementing the programs that stipulate our plan tasks and the economic and social development of our country. Of course, our activity does not cover the activity of the collective enterprise leadership bodies and of the government. We are making use of particular trade union means in our activity. In this respect, I would like to draw your attention primarily to our trade union initiatives aimed at saving and at making broad use of technological progress in production, as well as improving the quality of all our products.

During the implementation of these goals, we are also paying utmost attention to social issues that concern our workers, and to constantly increasing the standard of living. The average 10 percent increase in the income of all our workers and pensioners, an increase that started in 1988, shows the deeply humanist policy conducted by our party and government. This process will conclude in August 1989. Small incomes and pensions increased much more, and reached 33 percent, or were close to 45 percent respectively. By 1 January 1989, a total of 4.4 million workers—almost 60 percent of the entire work force—and more than 800,000 pensioners received this increase. Together with the competent state bodies, we are striving to achieve the professional training and further training of our workers, to ensure employment for all professional, high-school, and university graduates, and to provide jobs for all our workers. At the same time, we are also paying close attention to mass educational, cultural, artistic, and sports activities, as well as to the provisions of vacation and cure facilities for the people.

[Question] In your view, can one expect changes in the activity of your trade unions?

[Answer] Including the trade unions, the issue of a structural change and of a change in orientation is not on our agenda. However, we are dealing with the issue of how to improve the quality of our activity and how to perfect our work. Besides, this issue has always been on our agenda. We have always been striving to make the activity of our trade unions constantly keep pace with the constantly developing economic and social reality in our country.

[Question] How do you envisage the future cooperation between the trade unions of socialist countries?

[Answer] In the spirit of the fundamental orientation of our party and government policy, we have always been striving to maintain a close friendship and cooperation with the trade unions of the other socialist countries and to expand our exchanges of views and make these exchanges of views more varied. In view of the fact that it is our common endeavor to improve our activity and our exchange of experience, mutual information is playing an increasing role, and the present trade union conference in Budapest proves this. Of course, every trade union organization has its own experiences that can lead to a wide interest and which we can also use in accordance with the particular conditions of our activity. We are striving to continue to develop our relations—at all levels—with the trade unions of socialist countries, and we would like to explore new opportunities to increase the efficiency of our exchanges of experience so that these exchanges of experience focus on practical, specific, and common issues of our everyday activity.

[Question] In your view, what are the possibilities and methods of developing and consolidating the unity of the international trade union movement?

[Answer] Mainly after the Ninth Congress, our trade unions have been consistently striving to consolidate the unity of action of the international trade union movement. We believed, and continue to believe that differences deriving from international positions, political and ideological orientation, and from religious and philosophical conviction should not hinder the development of dialogue and uniform action. In our view, in the struggle to promote the vital interests of all workers, we must focus on implementing disarmament, mainly nuclear and chemical disarmament, eliminating all weapons of mass destruction, and on creating an atmosphere of detente, cooperation, and peace, an atmosphere that will promote the solution of complex economic and social problems like the creation of jobs and the elimination of unemployment, providing professional training and housing, participation in education and culture, medical care, and providing civilized living conditions for all workers.

In our view, the consolidation of the action unity of the international trade union movement has become increasingly important under the current circumstances, when the danger of a devastating war still prevails and when the offensive of employers and transnational corporations against the trade union rights is on the increase. We will be able to advance on this road only if we focus on the workers' common interests and if we display sensitivity and a constructive spirit.

In conclusion, I would like to convey my warm greetings to NEPSZAVA's readers, to all the workers, and to the neighborly and friendly Hungarian people. I wish you every success in your socialist construction and I express

our wish that we shall to continue to develop the friendship and cooperation between the trade unions of our two countries, to the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of peace and socialism.

Accumulation-Consumption Correlation Viewed
AU1002193589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1843 GMT 10 Feb 89

["Optimal Accumulation-Consumption Correlation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/02/1989—Optimizing the proportion between accumulation and consumption is a complex process which bears directly on attaining a dynamic economic balance, on the prospects of further developing the national economy, on the sources of meeting the needs of consumption. At the same time this correlation is not only economic, but also political as it aims at harmonizing the current and the future interests of the country, the personal and collective interests and those of society as a whole.

Particularly over the last two decades, the country's progress has been caused by a high rate of accumulation (about one third of national income), and by its rising efficiency. With each five-year interval it has provided an ever higher rise in the national income and in the consumption fund per inhabitant as well as in their total volume. Looking into the dynamics of this relationship one sees that any underrating of accumulation leads to falling rates of national income growth, with unfavourable consequences in point of economic development and living standards. Calculations reveal that had the rate of accumulation been just 20 percent after 1965, national income would have only grown 2.7 times, not 4.3 times as it has, at an average annual rate of five percent instead of 7.6 percent. Per capita national income would have amounted to 20,000 lei instead of 35,000 lei in 1987, and the consumption fund would have been only 1.5 times instead of 2.5 times larger. Had the accumulation rate been maintained as over the 1951-1965 interval, the current force of the Romanian economy would have only been attained early in the next millenium. By opting for a high rate of accumulation, rationally dimensioned and efficiently used, by assimilating the gains of science and technology, romania has made important steps along the path leading to a new stage of development. Industrial marketable production is now 128 times larger than in 1945, farm output has grown ninefold and national income 36 times. Some 80 percent of these rises have occurred after 1965.

Providing optimal correlation to accumulation and consumption at each stage of the country's development, taking into account all the factors of a technological, economic, social, political and environmental nature which exert an influence over this process makes the foundation for speeding up the development of the forces of production and systematically improving the people's well-being. The social implications of this strategy run

deep. More than 4.1 trillion lei invested over the last four decades helped building 2.5 trillion lei worth of productive fixed assets, of which 90 percent over the last twenty years. This has created another 5.7 million jobs, of which 3.5 million after 1965. As a consequence of successive rises in remunerations and of a growing number of working people, the remuneration fund has grown from 57.2 billion lei in 1965 to over 315 billion lei in 1988.

Over the 1986-1990 interval, with a rate of accumulation of 30 percent, per-capita national income is expected to grow to 50,100 lei and the consumption fund to 30,340 lei.

Review of Socioeconomic Strategy
AU1002110689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1015 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/2/1989—The correct assessment of a country's development stage is particularly important for the articulation of the whole socioeconomic strategy, for the establishment of the targets and the means to attain them. Romania has benefited much in this sense from the 9th Congress of the RCP (1965), that made a lucid analysis of the development level and features that far of the national economy, concluding that, in point of productive forces development, Romania ranked at that time in the lowest group of the developing countries.

Precisely as a result of those conclusions, a policy was elaborated of concentration of efforts and resources towards speeded up development of the economy, toward its modernization through the expansion of the branches promoting technical progress, toward increasing the economic efficiency through the gradual enhancement of the role of the intensive factors. The policy was based on the earmarking of some one third of the national income for the accumulation fund. The results showed. In the 1971-1975 five-year period Romania managed to leave behind the stage of a poorly developed country and rank among the developing countries. One decade ago, Romania already had some features in common with the medium-developed countries.

The 13th RCP Congress (1984) established as a target Romania's passage to a new stage, the stage of a medium-developed country, a target relying upon strong arguments, first of all the fact that in point of per capita production Romania is on a par with many medium-developed countries, and in several important domains—even on a par with countries with highest development. A complex survey drawn up by the Institute of Socialist Economics demonstrates that Romania reached levels of medium-developed countries as early as 1982-1984 with such socioeconomic pointers as per capita energy consumption, per capita added value in industry, the efficiency with the per capita cereal production, the share of the non-agricultural population, the per capita consumption of calories and proteins, the number of doctors in 10,000 inhabitants, the youth's

training in high schools, the life expectancy. As for per capita national income, Romania reached 35,000 lei in 1987, that is 3,700 dollars at the non-commercial rate of exchange of the dollar.

According to the economic development programs the medium-developed countries' level will be reached in the current five-year period with other important pointers as well. Labour productivity will double, the material expenditures share in the social product will drop to 53 percent, the energy consumption per unit of national income will be cut by over 20 percent, the degree of capitalization of the material resources in industry will go up by 25-27 percent—targets that are encompassed in the fundamental objective to give the Romanian economy the chief quantitative and qualitative features of the medium-developed countries. Practically, nine tenths of the rise in the national income will be achieved on account of higher labour productivity and reduced material expenditures, meaning in fact a change in the type of economic growth, through making the qualitative factors, of the efficiency, the main supports of the socioeconomic progress. [sentence as received]

Improvement in Standard of Living Noted
AU1402130689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1124 GMT 14 Feb 89

["Romania: A Consistent Policy of Improving the Standard of Living"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/02/1989—With more than 11 million economically and socially active people out of 23.112 million inhabitants at the end of 1988, Romania is one of the countries with a high working population rate. The industrial and non-agricultural population accounted for 72 percent of the work force—which averaged 7,843,000 of which about 40 percent were women.

The successes in the development of industry, agriculture and the other material goods-producing branches showed in a national income of 822.3 billion lei, 3.2 percent up on 1987, that provided for the development and modernization of the forces of production and for the improvement of the living standards—materially and spiritually. In 1988, a pay and pension raise began which benefited more than 4.4 million of working people—or nearly 60 percent of the working population—and upwards of 800,000 pensioners. The working people's pay fund was 293.2 billion lei in 1988, 3.3 percent larger than in 1987, chiefly as a result of the decision to start a raise in pay as on 1 August 1988. The lowest base pay in the economy was raised to 2,000 lei a month, from 1,500 lei, with the net nominal pay averaging 3,135 lei at the end of 1988. Furthermore, a firmly price-and-tariff stability policy kept the price and tariff index below the planned level.

At the same time, the nominal incomes made by farmers in money and in kind from work on producer cooperative farms and on their own homesteads increased 2.2 percent per active person in 1988 from the previous year, as a result of a growing agricultural production and of better work. And the state social security pension for old age and full length of service averaged 1,887 lei, 2.1 percent up on 1987.

In 1988, for instance, sociocultural spending totalled 118.7 billion lei, 2.3 percent more than one year before. It went to the expansion and modernization of schools, to cultural and health care services, to children's benefits and grants, pensions, scholarships, and other aids. The retail sales through the socialist network were worth 292.5 billion lei. Paid services to the population by socialist units—including transport, telephone and public utilities—totalled 70.6 billion lei, 2.3 percent more than in 1987. Services expanded as well as diversified to better meet the demands of the population. The schooling network now includes 27,975 units, of which 12,169 are kindergartens, 13,768—primary and junior high schools, 981—senior high schools, 788—vocational schools, 225—foremen's schools and 44—higher schools with 101 faculties. The school-going population totalled 5,562,600 at the beginning of the 1988-89 academic year, or 24.1 percent of the country's total. Of them, 831,100 were pre-schoolers, 4,572,000 were primary and high schools students and 159,500—higher-school students. In 1988 more than 340,000 skilled workers and other graduates of vocational, high and higher schools took up jobs in the national economy to meet the work force requirements. Furthermore, nearly 3.5 million working people attended refresher or improved training courses. Cultural activities expanded and diversified too. In 1988, film production included 26 feature films and 589 documentaries, scientific and short reels (more than 2,970 titles of books, newspapers, magazines and other periodicals were published throughout the year averaging more than 1,480 million copies).

Care for the population health and its improvement, which is a state policy in Romania, is a principal ingredient of the living standard and quality of life. The number of hospital beds totalled 215,000 in 1988 to average 9.3 beds in one thousand inhabitants. The medical personnel included 48,800 physicians, of which 7,200 dentists, which brings the inhabitants-to-physician ratio to 472-to-one, along with a nursing staff of 135,200.

Socialist Ownership Achievements Analyzed
AU1302192089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1804 GMT 13 Feb 89

["Socialist Ownership as Foundation of Development of the Productive Forces"—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 13/2/1989—In the theoretical approach of the concept of social progress and the practical achievement of its parameters, the RCP has steadily pursued the accomplishment of the unity

between the evolution of the economic base—of socialist ownership of the means of production first of all—and the exigencies of multilateral revolutionary transformation of society.

This policy has started from the consideration, corroborated by reality, that socialist ownership—the whole people's and the cooperative ownership—provides conditions necessary for the use of the material, financial and human resources with utmost scientific, technical economic and ecologic rationality, in the years of socialist construction, especially in the period inaugurated by the 9th RCP congress (1965), the growing role of socialist ownership in the development of the productive forces, in ensuring the dynamism of the national economic complex, in the modernization of its structures has been fully confirmed.

The dimensions of Romania's general development over 1945-1988 and especially after 1965 are demonstrated by facts and figures that point to the impressive leap made by the Romanian society. As compared with 1945, the industrial production grew 128 times, the steel production some 120 times, machine-building, more than 500 times and farm production ninefold. On this basis the national income grew over 36 times, the general remuneration fund about 75 times, the accumulated national wealth reached 5,100 billion lei and the productive capital assets—some 2,500 billion lei. The fact that 80 per cent of those rises were achieved after 1965 confirms the scientific and realistic character of the strategy endorsed by the RCP after the 9th Congress, the multiple mutations in the evolution of the socialist property as a central element of the economic system.

The evolution of the basic correlations of the economy, the modernization of its branch structure have been closely associated with the rational, well-balanced territorial distribution of the object of socialist ownership, of the productive forces generally, through the systematic promotion of the criteria of socio-economic and ecological efficiency. Worth mentioning in this respect is that Romania's economic geography has recorded essential changes as a result of the building of almost 2,000 new enterprises in the last 20 years, both in centres with tradition and in the over 170 new industrial developments.

According to the RCP, the steady growth of the national wealth, of the capital assets first of all, based on the latest gains of science and technology, the equitable distribution of the national income keep being the only way to raising the country onto new stages of progress and civilization, to strengthening the national sovereignty and independence. By the earmarking in this five-year period (1986-1990) of an important share—some 30 per cent—of the national income to socialist accumulation, the value of capital assets will reach some 3.8 trillion lei by the end of the current five-year period, and the accumulation national wealth—about 5.5 trillion lei. In

this frame, extensive programs of investments and modernization of the production apparatus are being implemented, relying on the promotion of technical-scientific progress.

The development of the socialist system is matched not only by a growth of the national income, the social property, but also by the improvement of its forms, of the relations between them, as well as of its mechanism as social relation of production.

According to the RCP, the improvement of these forms and of the economic mechanism as a whole should be achieved not by a return to various forms of private property, not by diminishing but by ever more powerfully affirming the working people's common property. The RCP considers that both forms of socialist property—state and cooperative—have a common, socialist essence and that to neglect either of them can only harm the general interests of the socialist society. The close blending of the state and cooperative socialist property into a unitary whole within the national economy offers wide opportunities of rational use of all material and human resources of society, allows for a steady growth of production, the meeting to an ever greater extent of the material and spiritual requirements of the working people.

In Romania, the decisive role in the improvement of the forms of achievement of the socialist ownership as a social relation of production was played by the measures of institutionalization of self-management, as a principle and form by which the working people participate directly or by representation in the endorsement of the decisions regarding the socio-economic activity and bear the full responsibility for the adequate operation, administration and development of the unit where they are producers and owners. At the same time, the institutionalization of the economic and financial self-management ensures the necessary economic means and levers for worker self-management and associates directly the possibilities of development of the economic unit, of increasing the working people's incomes with the results scored in the plan fulfilment and the efficiency of the fund administration.

Role of Workers Class Emphasized

AU0902184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1652 GMT 9 Feb 89

["The Historic Mission of the Working Class in the Contemporary Society"—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/2/1989—The working class has always had the lofty mission of acting for the improvement of production and social relations, the humanization of technology, the democratization of political institutions, social and national emancipation, and the peaceful resolution of mankind's major problems.

The building of socialism in a number of countries eloquently proves the working class' capacity to mobilize, unite and lead the progressive social forces in the construction of a superior civilization. Now, one of the essential demands of the process of building socialism, of developing and improving the sociopolitical organization and management structure, in accordance with the realities and conditions in each country, is to ensure an active participation of the working class, in alliance and collaboration with all the social classes and categories in decision-making and in the establishment of strategic targets.

According to the RCP's outlook, in keeping with the development of society and function of its demands, the working class' responsibilities for the cause of socialism grow and so do its attributes in the government of society by the party, the state bodies and the mass and public organizations.

In the years of socialism not only society but the working class itself changed radically, becoming a new class, free from exploitation, holding together with the other working people political and economic power and fulfilling the role of leading class, responsible for the nation's destinies.

In Romania the scope and rate of economic, social and political changes, the characteristic features of the revolutionary process in each stage also bear on the working class' traits and on its evolution and tendencies. In the first stages of the revolutionary process, socioeconomic growth associated with a considerable increase in the number of the working class, with significant changes in its structure by branches, with its ever greater importance in the structure of society.

In the period ushered in by the Ninth RCP congress when the building of the new society was qualitatively rethought in all its dimensions and components, the renewals have decidedly influenced the share of the working class in the social structure as a whole as well as its contribution to the achievement of social wealth and of the national income. The growing number of the working class—from 1,222,900 in 1950 and 3,109,900 in 1965 to over 6,100,000 now—makes up the background against which significant qualitative changes produced. Likewise, over this period of time, the working class became numerically, too, the most important class of society, accounting for nearly 57 per cent of the total employed population and for some 80 per cent in the total working personnel.

In accordance with the directives of the RCP's Thirteenth congress, the population active in the national economy will stand at 11.5 million in 1990 from 10.5 million in 1986 accounting for 40 per cent in the country's total population. The working personnel will number 7.8-7.9 million, raising the share of the people that directly participate in the material production. The share of the work force in industry, services and non-agricultural branches will continue to grow (about 73 per cent).

Owing to the working class' decisive contribution to the development of the forces of production in the contemporary society, sustained ever more by thorough professional training, the social division of labour deepened both on a national and international plane, and the manysided links between countries and peoples, the universalization of history consolidated.

History, events nowadays show the decisive social role of the working class. It was, is and will be the only consistently revolutionary social class, firmly committed to the efforts toward building a better and more just society in the fight against capitalism, against the imperialist, neo-colonialist practices, for democratic changes.

The dialectical materialist analysis of the defining processes taking place in the social structures of the contemporary world underscores the ever more important role of the working class in social development, its growing political influence and strength, the consolidation of its political parties and the enrichment of its experience with new forms and methods of revolutionary fight. At the same time, the complexity of historical process in our days, the contradictions of the international life objectively make the working class take part in the resolution of the problems facing mankind today. Its historic role is to work for a better future, to give adequate answers related to mankind's evolution at the end of this century, and to open clear prospects for the ways of revolutionary development of society.

Cooperativization Anniversary Marked
AU0902203889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1945 GMT 9 Feb 89

["Cooperativization—Basic Factor in Achieving a Modern Socialist Agriculture"—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/2/1989—This spring it is forty years since the cooperativization process started in the Romanian agriculture. The RCP programme says "it marked the beginning of a new stage in the implementation of the agrarian revolution, a moment of overriding importance along the path of the socialist development of the country."

A survey of the last forty years reveal the basic changes in the Romanian agriculture owing to the socialist changes in the rural area and implicitly the RCP's political clear-sightedness in running this complex process with a large socio-economic impact.

In 1948, when a plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP had decided to organize a state sector in agriculture, in the Romanian villages small and very small farmsteads which held between 0.5 and 3 hectares of arable land predominated. These accounted for 53.2 per cent of the total individual farmsteads. Their surfaces were divided: The 3,100,000 farmsteads held a surface divided in over 20,000,000 parcels. The work means of the peasants were of a low technical level. In fact the technical

inheritance of the prewar period was precarious. Statistical surveys show that in 1938, the "peak" year of prewar Romania, there were only 4,050 tractors in the country's agriculture.

Hence, cooperativization was a requisite in terms of efficiency.

The CC of the RCP decided in its March 1949 plenum that the cooperativization process should be organically linked to creating the necessary premises, i.e. to proceed in step with the development of industry which would give agriculture improved production technology and specialists, etc. of overriding importance is the fact that the RCP put at the basis of the cooperativization process the principles of a consciously directed action and the observance of free consent and material incentives.

The first cooperative producer farms were created in the summer of 1949. Cooperativization ended in the first half of 1962, when the socialist economic forms covered the largest part of the farm and arable land of the country and almost all the peasant farmsteads. By the end of that year, the socialist sector—state farm enterprises and cooperative producer farms—held 76.84 per cent of the country's farmland and 92.79 per cent of its arable land. Henceforth, the socialist economy of Romania was a unitary one: nationwide, the socialist sector accounted for 92.2 per cent of the total productive fixed assets, 95.1 per cent of the national income and 99.4 per cent of the global industrial production.

With the conclusion of the process of socialist transformation of agriculture Romania's political history recorded the second big agrarian revolution, after the agrarian reform of 1945. The creation of state and cooperative socialist property in agriculture gave green light to the economic laws and socialism to operate in the entire national economy. Agriculture was streamlined towards an intensive and manysided development. The state invested over 440 thousand million lei in the 1965-1985 interval for the modernization of this sector. The funds were used to ensure a growing productive potential of the land through vast land melioration works, the equipping of agriculture with an appropriate number of tractors and farm machinery, the development of the chemical fertilizers industry, conditions for increasing livestock and animal productions. Statistics show that in 1986 agriculture received 1.6 million tonnes

of high-analysis fertilizers. In 1988, there were 3,750 thousand hectares of irrigated land and agriculture operated a large fleet of farm machinery that included over 183,000 tractors and more than 55,000 self-propelled combines, 15,000 corn harvesters etc.

The policy of building an intensive, modern agriculture materialized in a powerful growth of the farm production. In 1988 it was nine times bigger than in 1945. Statistics show that over 1951-1985 the average growth rate of farm output was 4.1 per cent. As compared with the 1966-1970 five-year period in the 1981-1985 quinquennium the overall cereal productions increased more than 1.7 times, those of potato and vegetable more than twice, and the other crops—some 1.5 times on an average. In 1986, cereal production was of 32.6 million tonnes—the largest in Romania's history.

Zootechny recorded substantial production growths through the increase of livestock (at the end of 1988 the socialist sector boasted over 4,300 thousand head of cattle, 9,600 thousand pigs, 8,300 thousand sheep and goats, and of yield per head. [parenthesis as received] In the ongoing five-year plan period and further on, until the end of the millenium, the fundamental goal of agriculture is the accomplishment of the new agrarian revolution which presupposes the turning out of farm productions apt to meet the population's consumption requirements as well as other demands of the national economy, a general change in the style of work and life of the farmers. The material support of the intensification of the farm output is the allotment of ever bigger investment funds for the development and modernization of the technical and material base. Over 190 thousand million lei will be earmarked to this end in the ongoing quinquennium alone when 2.6 million hectares will be laid out for irrigations taking the total irrigated area to 5.5-6 million hectares, virtually the entire economically irrigable area, at the end of the interval.

In the current five-year plan period net farm production is envisaged to grow at an average annual rate of 8.5-9 per cent—a rate higher than that of all the previous quinquenniums. A highly significant target is the substantial development of activities in zootechny which, through the increase of livestock and average output, is to hold an almost 50-per-cent share of the total farm production. An almost two-time growth of the overall farm production is stipulated for the 1991-2000 decade.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Session Detailed
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in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—Everything the appropriate organs have been able to discover so far indicates that those who inspired and organized massive protest rallies and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality in November last year were individuals from certain political, economic, and other structures. The immediate reason for those events was the cadre changes in the provincial committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo, which, in the political climate in which they were created, met with disapproval and opposition.

These assessments were the starting point of the discussion today at the session of the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee on the causes and the immediate reasons, nature, and consequences of the November protests and demonstrations in Pristina and in other towns in the province.

Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Svetislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia; Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia; and Milomir Minic, executive secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia, are attending the session.

At the beginning of the session, Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee, informed members of the provincial committee that the session was taking place 2 days before the original date because of the commitment the provincial committee has to agree on time on the candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee and for the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Kosovo.

In his introductory report on the draft assessments and stands on the November events, which the provincial committee Presidium had unanimously approved, Musa Juniku, a Presidium member, first recalled that following the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, the political situation in Kosovo got worse. Instead of the expected implementation of priority tasks on establishing responsibility, a lack of resolve, opportunism and an uncritical attitude were manifested, which created the false impression—which still persists—that cadre changes in the provincial committee Presidium had been foisted through the pressure exercised by LCY organs higher up.

This, as well as some press reports and unprincipled demands and slogans during meetings and rallies concerning some cadres of Albanian nationality, and in fact concerning the Albania nationality as a whole, was used as a reason for massive protests and demonstrations.

However, one of the main reasons was draft amendments to the constitution of the SR of Serbia, that is, lack of information and misinformation and even opposition to some proposals implicit in the draft.

In this way, said Juniku, the groundless fear was gaining ground that the issues pertaining to draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia would be approved without being coordinated first. The inactivity of the LC and of other organizations was taken advantage of by those who operated from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and by bureaucratic and nationalist forces who were persuading the people that constitutional changes would jeopardize the equality of Albanian nationality and the autonomy of the provinces, which helped the formation of an atmosphere of tension and revolt. In this atmosphere, the organizers and the inspirers did not find it difficult to get the people to come to Pristina to protest and to demonstrate. [TANJUG parts 3 and 4 not received]

Having said that Albanian nationalists and separatists had previously called for demonstrations as well as for work stoppages, Juniku said that because of resolute action to remove counterrevolutionary activity, the process of indoctrination continues, especially among a segment of young people. The reason for this is that differentiation in specific areas of social life, especially in education, science, culture, and information have not been consistently carried out. In many environments, the national element is still dominant in life and often borders on being nationalistic, while the class element has been relegated into second place.

Activity from positions of Serb and Montenegrin nationalism, according to him, also has an impact on the cooling of intranational relations in the province. Disseminating the notion that there can be no life together with the Albanians, and blaming the entire Albanian nationality for the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, Serb and Montenegrin nationalists took advantage of the situation in Kosovo and fomented dissatisfaction among citizens of Albanian nationality, making intranational mistrust and intolerance even worse.

The situation in the country also has an effect on the aggravation of the political and security situation in Kosovo. The pronounced acute and social problems of the working people and citizens in this province, and the high rate of unemployment in particular, also have an adverse impact on the political and security situation.

Political action and political work with the masses in Kosovo, Juniku went on to say, did not measure up to the gravity of the situation. In most cases, this action was channeled among members of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities in Kosovo toward the environments which had displayed public dissatisfaction and alarm over their own position and difficult situation in Kosovo. In comparison, movements among members of the Albanian nationality were neglected and inadequate account was

taken of the influence of Albanian nationalism and of the dissemination of the feeling among the members of this nationality about the threat allegedly posed to them by the forthcoming constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

The creation of an unfavorable political climate and tension in intranational relations, even after the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, was contributed to by individual public information media, which through differing and one-sided interpretation of individual events, fomented anti-Albanian or anti-Serb sentiments, and in so doing, and at the same time, opened up the scope for various manipulations and divisions and for hostile and antisocialist pressure and provocation.

In substance, massive protest gatherings and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality made the already complex situation in the province considerably worse and brought intranational relations to the brink. They introduced a feeling of hopelessness, a lack of prospects, and insecurity among the Serbs and Montenegrins, which they regarded as a psychological pressure.

Protest rallies and demonstrations, added Juniku, caused enormous damage to the Albanian nationals themselves, as well as to the life and work together of all the nations and nationalities in the province, because the situation created only played into the hands of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

After these events, the division on the basis of nationality was taken to its highest possible degree in the LC as well, in the leaderships, and among the working people and citizens. This is a serious political problem which frustrates efficient action to stabilize the situation in the province. This division is becoming increasingly pronounced. Party cards are being returned in Kosovo today on a massive scale, and demands are also being made en masse for party membership to be put in abeyance until the assessments, causes, consequences, and directions of the action have been unanimously established. This is making the work of the LC increasingly difficult, and these problems must be resolutely overcome. This applies particularly to the pronounced divisions on the basis of one's nationality, because they could jeopardize the activity of the LC in Kosovo as a single organization.

The already difficult and complex political and security situation in the province, said Juniku, has been additionally made more difficult by protest meetings and work stoppages, mainly by citizens of Albanian nationality. During these meetings, demands are made for the decisions of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee on responsibility for the aggravation of the situation in Kosovo as well as for issues tied up with the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia to be explained. Disagreement is also voiced with some assessments about the rallies and demonstrations in November last year.

The substance of these demands and the way in which they are put forward are identical with those heard at the time of the November events. What we have is organized and continued activity. The provincial committee Presidium has made the assessment that this is a continuation of those events as testified to by the way these protest meetings have been organized.

The Kosovo LC, stressed Juniku, will persist in the implementation of the tasks of the 17th session concerning responsibility for the situation in Kosovo because this is a prerequisite for the implementation of the totality of these conclusions. Any other approach would amount to opposition to the implementation of these conclusions.

In view of the fact that during most meetings dissatisfaction was expressed over the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, we took a clear stance on these issues. We stressed that we supported the constitutional changes which will ensure that the Republic of Serbia—as a state and self-management community—can fulfill the necessary functions throughout its territory and that the substance of the autonomy of the provinces, which are within the SR of Serbia and which are a constituent element of the federation, is consistently carried out. This, in fact, is a reaffirmation of item 5 of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

We made the assessment that the ideopolitical activity on explaining the substance of the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia must be stepped up, because it has been shown time and again to what extent misinformation among the people about the substance and the range of constitutional changes is serious. The most difficult thing is that it is thought that the rights of the Albanian nationality will be curtailed. We also believe that public information media in Kosovo must do far more to wipe out these wrong notions from the minds of the people.

We are now in a stage of fighting the battle for the people and winning them over to the policy of the LCY. The problem is that a great number of people still do not grasp the essence of the problems in Kosovo.

What is happening, said Juniku, is that many people believe the problems in Kosovo are not as serious as they are presented in public, and that everything in Kosovo is being done in the interest of the Serbs and Montenegrins alone, and not in the interest of the Albanians. This means that awareness of the major consequences of the counterrevolutionary events in 1981 has not quite yet gained the upper hand. This is why the gravity of the problem is not understood, nor is it understood that changes in society must be made and that cadre changes also have to be carried out.

As a result, it is not only sociopolitical organizations, but business organs in associated labor as well which have a great role to play and a great responsibility in this

situation. Many work organization leaders enjoy great trust and a reputation among the workers, but they do not use this adequately, nor in the right way, to mobilize the people politically.

To stabilize the situation in Kosovo, the first requirement is to launch a broadly based political action to establish a united socialist front of all the nations and nationalities, because this is the prerequisite of free and peaceful life together of all the people in Kosovo. Resolute action by the LC and by all organized forces is also required consistently and comprehensively to implement the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee.

All organized subjects must launch political action among the working people and citizens to have intranational confidence restored and the situation stabilized more rapidly. Joint struggle has to be waged to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, because this is the only way which leads to harmony, reciprocal understanding, and trust, stressed Juniku in conclusion, advocating simultaneously unity within the provincial committee of the LC of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

According to Berisa as well as to Camil Rasica, who was the next participant in the discussion, when establishing assessments of and stands on the November events in Pristina it must also be said that in many respects these gatherings of Albanians in Pristina were influenced by the previous single-nation meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins as well as by the events in Novi Sad and in Montenegro.

Speaking mainly about the situation within the Elektroprivreda composite organization of associated labor and of the analysis of the November events made there, Rasica was categorical in his claim that some forces inside and outside the collective portrayed individual cadres of Albanian nationality as unsuitable and the whole organization as a hotbed of nationalism. It was stressed that the collective was abused by individual Albanian leaders, while the reality, according to him, was entirely different.

Rasica established a most direct link between the November rallies of workers and citizens in Pristina streets, which is how he described those events, and the "previous exacerbation of intranational relations as the result of single-nation rallies of the Serbs and Montenegrins," as well as with individual statements which "introduced confusion among the working class." Rasica then spoke in great detail about the involvement of Albanian workers in that collective in the November events.

The Elektroprivreda business and sociopolitical structures tried to dissuade the workers from going to Pristina. However, when they spontaneously did decide

to go, their leaders went with them, directing them into the Boro i Ramiz Center. Throughout that time, not one single enemy slogan was heard, claims Rasica.

Our LC action conference, Camil Rasica went on to say, has made the assessment that these November rallies had been spontaneous, that they had not been anti-Serb or anti-Yugoslav in nature, but it also decided that no single-nation gathering is good. In keeping with these assessments, Rasica urged that the provincial committee draft assessments and stands be altered in several places. The qualification "whereby the working class and people have been shown as having been manipulated by individuals" is unacceptable. According to Rasica, it will be difficult to support this assessment with the power of argument. He believes that some of the causes of the November demonstrations are to be found in difficult material and development problems in the province, and that this has not at all been stressed in the document. [passage omitted]

Ejup Gasi tried to explain away the current wave of protest meetings of the Albanian workers in work organizations by saying that they were dissatisfied that the November events had been labeled as "demonstrations." He also took exception to the fact that no one in the country said or says now to what extent the single-nation meetings of the Serbs and Montenegrins had influenced the deterioration of the intranational relations in Kosovo. "I do not agree that what happened in November were 'demonstrations' while the rallies of the Serbs and Montenegrins were 'solidarity meetings'," he said.

Gasi went on to comment on the criticism that at the time, the Albanians did not evince solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins during their meetings. Claiming that calls to take up arms were made during the meetings, that the slogan "Montenegro is moving forward into battle" was sung, and that shouts of "We shall kill Vlasi" were heard, he asked: Where was I, as an Albanian, to find a place at that kind of meeting? He also censured Slobodan Milosevic for not taking up an invitation of the Trepca miners recently, or indeed that made by other collectives, to come there, while he took the invitation to attend a single-nation meeting of the Serbs in a local community. [passage omitted]

Adem Krasnici spoke of the stands heard during the past protest meetings of the Albanians, such as their dissatisfaction with the existing assessments of the November events and the dissemination of anti-Albanian sentiments. The demand that they should be changed was aired during the recent protest meeting, as he said, of the workers of all nationalities in the Pec leather and footwear combine.

Dobroslav Radovic warned of the attempts at today's session to minimize the assessments of the November meetings. He expressed support for the draft assessments of these events and noted that it has taken impermissibly long to have them adopted. He advocated an end to the

mistaken policy in Kosovo, the mistaken views that all political actions are to the advantage of Serbs and Montenegrins alone, and to the fear and reluctance raised by the initiatives coming from the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Radovic also demanded differentiation between the leaderships of the economic collectives, noting that the meetings and gatherings of Albanians show "certain things in their full color."

In Besim Kastrati's opinion, there are obvious differences emerging from the assessments of the November gatherings, adding that this last one was the fourth assessment by the party organs of the same event so far. He accepted today's proposal on the draft assessments of and stands on the events, but stressed that differences and nuances must be removed.

Remzi Koljgeci warned particularly about the damage caused by single-nationality gatherings, regardless of their organizers and motives. He noted that until recently, political work with Serbs and Montenegrins has been neglected, and the latest events demonstrated that little has been done with the Albanian masses as well. He spoke in favor of a more subtle analysis of the November events which, in Koljgeci's opinion, represent a reflection of and response to the prevailing anti-Albanian sentiments and vindictive tendencies resulting from an intention to impose a guilt feeling on the entire Albanian nationality.

In the assessments, the fact should be more emphasized, Koljgeci maintains, is that during the November gatherings and demonstrations by Albanians, loyalty to the policy of the LCY and Tito's Yugoslavia was manifested, although there were attempts by nationalists to infiltrate the workers' ranks. Reading the proposed assessments, an impression can be derived, Koljgeci said, that the Albanians were manipulated and misled on the occasions of the public debate on the Constitution of Serbia and the November events. This is not the truth, he said, although there were some unacceptable demands then. He advocated a change of the republican Constitution, as had been stated in the fifth item on the list of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. One is under the impression, Koljgeci said, that the assessments also contain an undercurrent of attitudes which consider the Albanian gatherings as being organized by Albanian nationalists. He believes that too much emphasis is put on the organizers and inspirers of these gatherings.

Koljgeci pointed to the attempts by destructive forces to establish a theory about historic rights over Kosovo, which they perceive as a myth rather than reality. He specified that he was referring to the Albanian and/or Serbian medieval myths. He stressed that Kosovo belongs to everybody who is living in it. In his opinion, the slogan "We will give our lives away, but not Kosovo," makes sense only if it is voiced jointly by Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins.

He disapproved of one formulation from the draft assessments which criticizes the work of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and added: If this is true, then my responsibility while I was acting president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium should be established.

Today's session of the provincial committee, together with the preceding one, at which a significant step was taken in cadre renewal and an action program was adopted, should signify the beginning of a real change of direction, toward resolute and energetic action by the Kosovo LC for overcoming it [as received], said Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, participating in the discussion.

The action program adopted at the last session represents a true reaffirmation of the political course of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum, which here in Kosovo has, to a significant extent, been lost sight of. Decisions on cadre renewal create the conditions for this provincial committee and for the LC of Kosovo as a whole to equip itself for an ideopolitical struggle and for action to finally break the counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism. And the stances and assessments which the provincial committee will adopt today on the November gatherings and demonstrations, in their clarity and realism, can only contribute to our solving priority problems and finally getting past the political blockade. The clarity of the stances is important in order for people to stop being confused, said Sokolovic, for them to make their own decisions and orientate themselves in the correct way. In recent days in Kosovo, at numerous meetings in work organizations, we have seen what the negative and politically damaging consequences are of delays and of the absence of true assessments by the leadership of the Kosovo LC on the mass protest gatherings and demonstrations. But in the same way, we have seen: that when the LC leadership comes out with a clear stance, the people accept this and show an interest in solving problems together with the leadership.

This essential change of direction which has been embarked upon is vital, added Sokolovic, not just and not primarily for the Serbs and Montenegrins, but also for the Albanians and for all the nations and nationalities of Kosovo. The entire, progressive Kosovo and Yugoslav public has rightly been awaiting this ever since 1981.

Only with this change of direction, without any compromise and without any concession to any form of resistance or any individuals, only with a resolute implementation of the policy established by Yugoslav Communists with regard to Kosovo, will we ensure that the unfavorable tendency of several years of a constant worsening of the situation in this province is ended. This situation today is dramatic and unfavorable, and the truth about it has come to the surface in all its seriousness and contradictions. Today this truth is accessible to the entire Yugoslav public.

It suited bureaucratic-statist forced and individuals, above all in the Kosovo leadership, to hide the truth, to push the real problems into the background, to preserve their own privileged positions, and to hide their own incapability and lack of responsibility. For years a bureaucratized and, in many ways, mistaken policy was pursued which has left numerous negative political consequences. This policy was also contrary to those obligations and tasks established at the 9th LCY Central Committee session, and later in the conclusions of the 16th and 17th sessions.

Now, after much resistance and opposition in the Kosovo leadership, the establishing of individual responsibility and cadre renewal has finally been earmarked upon, and the essential conditions are being created for action to finally begin and for the policy of the LC on Kosovo to be affirmed and realized. The decisions on cadre renewal, said Sokolovic, have been received among Communists, working people, and citizens throughout the republic and among the progressive Yugoslav public as a great encouragement. Support has been gained by those cadres in Kosovo LC who enjoy the confidence of all the nations and nationalities. These decisions are all the more important because they were reached despite the fact that individuals from the Kosovo LC leadership, and not just there, resolutely worked to deepen divisions and to block every activity in order to prevent cadre renewal.

The conditions are being created for a continuation of ideopolitical differentiation and for the carrying out of cadre renewal as a key precondition for implementing the solution of the Kosovo drama in line with clear LCY policy, with the policy of brotherhood and unity, so that conditions are created for people here in Kosovo to be free, equal, and together and to live in harmony; so that we can correct numerous injustices committed over the years toward Serbs and Montenegrins, who have had to emigrate from their homes to protect their dignity and the dignity of their children and families, or who are emigrating today because of the pressure of Albanian nationalists and separatists, stressed Sokolovic.

For several years now, he added, the LCY's policy on intranational relations and equality in Kosovo has been suffering defeats. It is now time—and we must all work for this—that here in Kosovo this policy should finally begin to win. The preconditions for this are being created: These are the united assessments on the situation and a clear action program specifying the tasks. Unity of the provincial and republican leaderships is in the interests of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins, and all those who live in Kosovo. It is in the interests of Kosovo and the republic as a whole, and it is a condition for the stability of Yugoslavia. When we have this unity in the republic, then Yugoslav action toward Kosovo will be more effective, more responsible, and will bring concrete results for the well-being of all nations and nationalities.

The changes in our republic's Constitution will also virtually contribute to this. They will enable the Socialist Republic of Serbia to be constituted as a state and a self-managing socialist community of equal nations and nationalities living in it, stressed Sokolovic. In its basic constitutional characteristics, position, and functions, Serbia must be equal with the other republics, and the question of the essence of autonomy should not be brought into question. We did not embark on changes to the republican Constitution just because of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, but because of unity in Serbia, because of the equality of all its nations and nationalities, and because of the stability of Yugoslavia.

The changes to the republican Constitution threaten neither the autonomy of the provinces nor the equality of the nations and nationalities. On the contrary, these changes serve and contribute to the consistent realization of these fundamental principles, upon which our community is founded. Stances on this have been taken by the Presidium, the Central Committee, and the LCY conference. With the constitutional changes, the conditions are created for working people and citizens, regardless of their national affiliation, to realize their rights more fully and more rapidly. Not in a single stance on changes to the Constitution is it written that the national rights of the Albanian nationality are diminished or denied, that, for example, their right is denied to education, their language is denied, or that land will be taken away, or that they will be placed in an unequal position. This is pure scheming and lies, which have created resistance to the changes. I am deeply convinced that the resistance created by this disinformation will be removed. Because if people had had the essence of the changes explained correctly to them—their aims and real provisions—I am sure that there would not have been such resistance. For this reason, it is our duty to explain the essence of the changes and to struggle for them in the period which remains until the adoption of the Constitution. This is the duty of all of us together, in particular for Albanian Communists, and primarily for leaders and people in top positions.

The adoption of assessments and stances on the mass protest gatherings and demonstrations of last November fulfills not only a duty established at the 20th LCY Central Committee session, but also puts an end to the hesitations which have caused great political damage to intranational relations, the further intensive emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and has prevented the political struggle of the Kosovo LC against nationalism and separatism, said Sokolovic. These hesitations have also contributed to the creation of illusions and convictions that it is possible to revise the conclusions of the 17th session on accountability and the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum and their implementation, without any consequence whatsoever.

With justification, there are demands by the responsible organs as to who are the organizers and instigators of the demonstrations, who abused the protests of workers, and

where they have led and are leading the workers. If these assessments had been made earlier, and if, in line with them, timely political action had been conducted, the consequences would be less and the situation in Kosovo would certainly not be as serious as it has been recently. It is more serious today than it has been since 1981, said the secretary of the Serbian LC Presidium.

He added that now the most important thing was to embark on dynamic political action and a struggle to uncover Albanian nationalism and separatism and its proponents. The separatist forces are strong and well organized; they are operating both illegally and legally; they are pushing the Kosovo LC to the periphery and want to divide it absolutely to isolate the Albanian nationality and impose their own aims on it, said Sokolovic. In this political action, there is really no longer any place for hesitation, delay, and back-peddling. Every postponement and slowness can only have serious consequences. [passage omitted]

In Sokolovic's view, one of the tasks is to also encourage all the progressive forces, primarily among the Albanian nationalists, since only with them, under a united front, can the LCY policy be carried out. We should affirm all the people who fight nationalism and separatism and who demonstrate in practice their commitment to the policy of brotherhood and unity, he stressed, continuing that the people who stand up for brotherhood and unity experience frequent troubles, that their activity is undermined, and that they are even defamed and persecuted. We, in the LC and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, have been giving full priority to resolving the Kosovo problems, Sokolovic noted. He added that the Republic of Serbia invests vast material, cadre, and political resources in resolving the difficult problems in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

The prospects for Kosovo and Albanian nationalists are not in intranational hatred and the discord between Serbia and Yugoslavia, but in a united Serbia and in a stable Yugoslavia. These prospects can be found only in the consistent realization of the policy established by the LCY. Here in Kosovo, we will prove that the forces of the LC are capable of defeating Albanian nationalism and separatism and that the policy of brotherhood and unity will win, and that all the people will live together in peace. No one should entertain any doubts about this, said Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Presidium, concluding his speech.

A truly realistic assessment of everything that is happening in Kosovo should be made, Ziza Barjaktari said. Now it is being said, she continued, that Albanians are second-class citizens; this raises a great deal of revolt and additionally burdens the situation. The escalation of the November demonstrations, stressed the deputy provincial secretary for internal affairs, Jusuf Karakusi, seriously threatened public order, peace, and the constitutional order. The misuse of these events on the part of

the Albanian nationalists was not perceived and considered by the organs of internal affairs as workers' defiance of the LCY policy. We have said this in the same clear tone that today's proposed assessments assume. The word demonstration was not used, Karakusi continued, to fulfill someone's wish or "whim." When we had to deal with gatherings we said so, and when we had demonstrations we called them just that. We did not regard them as counterrevolution demonstrations, since such a qualification would require a profound and detailed political analysis. But, Karakusi noted, we could not possibly say that these demonstrations were revolutionary, since, essentially, they opposed the implementation of the adopted party conclusions.

To compare the November demonstrations by the Albanian nationalists with the meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins would be a mistake. According to Karakusi, this should be considered political opportunism. Comparisons between these demonstrations and meetings can be drawn neither because of their differing motives nor because of the different demands voiced there.

Karakusi recalled that the Albanian nationalists who are now opposing changes to the 1974 Constitution are the very ones who on earlier occasions considered this very Constitution as "Tito's political swindle". This provincial committee, he said in conclusion, must be aware that some of the demands voiced at the November events are designed not only to oppose the LCY Central Committee conclusions, but to isolate Albanian nationalists as well. [passage omitted]

There should be no way for compromises, opportunism, and careerism, Djordje Bozovic said. Resistance to the implementation of the party policy should be countered immediately. At the last session of the provincial committee, a minimum of unity was achieved, and if we adopt assessments of and stands on the November events which were proposed today by the provincial committee Presidium, then we will make yet another step forward. Calling for uncovering the organizers and inspirers of the protest meetings and demonstrations, Bozovic asked: What is the meaning now of these workers' gatherings and strikes in the collectives all over Kosovo? In his opinion, this only deepens hostility among all the nationalities in Kosovo.

One of the key tasks is "mending the torn threads of trust," particularly among the working class, whose prime interest should be of class variety rather than of national, Bozovic said.

The Kosovo Trade Union Council, Sava Komadinic stressed, supports the assessments by the provincial committee Presidium about the November events. Recalling the things that preceded these events, Komadinic said that the opportunism and hesitancy demonstrated by the provincial committee in the course of the

preparations for the session of 17th November sparked even deeper divisions and gave an additional impetus to the Serbs and Montenegrins' emigration.

He said that the manipulations with the assessments of the November events should be stopped because it is clearly discernible what was happening in the first 2 days and afterward, when the social structure of the participants in the protest gatherings and demonstrations changed. Nobody can deny the fact that they were well organized. The November events, Komadinic said, represent an organized resistance to the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum and constitutional changes. The workers were, however, labeled nationalists and enemies by no one, and this should be kept in mind whenever political action is to be undertaken among their ranks. The gatherings and strikes which occurred over the last few days will breed the same consequences as the November events—a drop in production and the worsening of intranational and human relations—which only diminishes chances for any betterment of the situation in the province, Komadinic believes.

We in the Federation of the Veterans' Associations of Kosovo think that the November events have seriously deteriorated conditions in the province. Veterans—not those of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality alone, but also the rest of them who live in Kosovo—are deeply concerned about the situation which emerged in the wake of the November gatherings and demonstrations, Boro Drmoncic said. They resolutely demand that all the conclusions and decisions of the LCY Central Committee, and particularly item five on constitutional changes and item nine on the responsibility of the provincial party leadership of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum be consistently carried out.

The members of the Kosovo veterans' organization demand, Drmoncic resumed, that those who organized the November protests and demonstrations be revealed, and that proceedings be set against these people to establish their responsibility.

Participating in the discussion, Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, first of all noted that assessments of the November events should have been made earlier and that cadre renewal should have been implemented more rapidly. Nevertheless, today at the provincial committee, an important task is being concluded for the stabilization of the Kosovo situation. With the adoption of assessments and stances on the November protests and demonstrations, said Gacic, a duty is being fulfilled which to date has been postponed several times, and which stems from the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. This is a condition for pursuing clear political action in Kosovo and establishing the political mistakes which have been made in all environments in the province. These assessments and stances, stressed Gacic, create the conditions for understanding to what extent great weaknesses in the organs and organizations of the

province are expressed, and for establishing to what extent the behavior of individuals from the Kosovo leadership, their opportunism, defensiveness, and their nationalist concerns contributed to the November events. We must also see to what extent these events were the work of enemies. There are elements of all these things, said Gacic, and this is why we must see all the causes and reasons as they really are. In his opinion, it is most important that the assessments and stances proposed today by the provincial committee Presidium coincide on the main questions with the assessments and stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

Calling for clear assessments of all that has happened in Kosovo since the 17th session—since this is a condition for the implementation of party policy—Gacic also spoke about intranational relations and stressed that for all people it is most essential to halt further divisions and splits. These sow fear and insecurity among Serbs and Montenegrins; they do not leave Albanians calm either. We must stop this.

Gacic also spoke about great weaknesses in the public discussion held in Kosovo on the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution. We should precisely assess where the mistakes were made, and how much this contributed to confusion and disinformation among the Kosovo public. In this respect, we should speak specifically about shortcomings, both of institutions and individuals. It is important to adopt the constitutional amendments, but it is also vital that Albanians accept them with the feeling that they have not been imposed on them, and Serbs and Montenegrins [accept them] as a condition for their equality in their own province, in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

It is essential, stressed Gacic, to overcome the feeling that in Kosovo everyone loses. He explicitly called for the uncovering of the organizers and instigators of the November protests and demonstrations. It is necessary to distinguish objectively between dissatisfaction and people who have been disinformationed, and those who misused those meetings to avoid their own responsibility, hide their idleness, and encourage resistance to LCY policy.

Each one of them, Gacic said, should be assessed according to his motives, aims, and "merit." Severe political and legal measures should be undertaken against such people, regardless of their work to date, merit, and social position. We must begin this immediately, because any delay will cause great political damage. Cadre renewal, in Gacic's words, should not be carried out only in the provincial committee and its Presidium, but in the municipal LC committee's in Kosovo as well.

The provincial committee should be supported by the concrete implementation of party policy. We must do everything so that the time of division remains behind us and so that we can finally show practically that Kosovo is our common concern. The action program adopted at

the last session of the provincial committee, as well as the assessments and stances to be adopted today, said Gacic, create the conditions for greater unity and more successful political work in Kosovo, which is expected throughout the Yugoslav public, which has—with justification—become impatient.

Finally, Gacic pointed to the fact that at today's plenum of Kosovo Communists, differences were again emerging on some issues (nationalism, constitutional changes, the November events), as if there were no absolutely clear party conclusions and stances already established on them. For this reason, we should finally respect them and not constantly argue over them, said Gacic.

The afternoon's discussion showed obvious differences in the treatment of the November events, depending on the national affiliation of the participants in the discussion. Thus, for example, members of the Albanian nationality had a series of criticisms of the proposed assessments of the November events and proposed that some of the stances be thrown out. The contributions to the discussion by Agim Malja, Hamdi Cerimi, Makvira Uzunalic, Cazim Ademi, and Nali Sabani were made in this tone.

Their main criticisms were that it had been a question of the dissatisfaction of the working class, and not of demonstrations. They opposed assessments that the public discussion on the Serbian Constitution had not been well conducted. Also repeated were assertions about the untenable nature of assessments, which maintained that the gatherings of Albanians had had an anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav character. There were also calls for the names of the organizers of the gatherings and demonstrations to be made public, if there were any, so that certain cadres would not be brought into suspicion. Agim Malja, in addition to this, noted that the current composition of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium enjoyed the support of Kosovo Serbs, and Montenegrins, but that it should also have the support of members of the Albanian nationality. We have come to the point, he said, where for the first time since the war, the working class in Kosovo is acting on a national basis.

Musa Juniku, presiding, proposed on behalf of the Presidium that the provincial committee dissociate itself from that part of the discussion by Ejup Gasi in which he accused Ali Sukrija of allegedly attacking Albanians. This, said Juniku, represents an insinuation and an attempt to discredit Ali Sukrija, an acknowledged revolutionary and Communist whom the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is proud of. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee members accepted this proposal.

In the opinion of Vojislav Zajic, the platform and goal of the November gatherings and demonstrations and the latest protest gatherings by Albanians were the same. He noted that at the recent meetings, political passions and euphoria have come to light. It has been shown in both instances that the essence lay in attempts to block the

changes of the Serbian Constitution and in a feverish defense of the 1974 Constitution. For this reason, said Zajic, it is not vital whether we are to call these events gatherings or demonstrations, and there is no reason for national oversensitivity in the assessment of those events. Zajic also pointed to national homogenization, which was forcefully expressed in Kosovo and which manifested itself in an anti-Serbian mood.

Dobroslov Radovic proposed that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee dissociate itself from certain attacks on Rahman Morina, and at the same time he criticized Ali Sabani for showing distrust toward the LCY CC Presidia, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. He also expressed dissatisfaction with the course of the discussion so far and warned that in it "people were again pushing us along the wrong path."

Taking part in the discussion, Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY CC Presidium, stressed that this plenum of the provincial committee, after a 3-month delay, should adopt assessments and stances on the November events in the province. In my judgment, he said to the provincial committee members, you have a good basis for this in the proposal of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and today's introductory speech, and in the majority of the discussion. I would like to believe that you will do this this evening.

It is astonishing, said Stojanovic, that to judge by the statements of some comrades—among whom there are also members of the LCY Central Committee—the November protests and demonstrations in Kosovo were not binding. The question is even asked as to whether or not those assessments were well-founded. For example, Comrade Sabani, added Stojanovic, treats them as not in the least binding. At the 19th LCY CC session, he recalled, despite the statements by Remzi Koljigeci, it was explicitly stated that the assessments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium were binding and that they must serve as a basis for political action. That was on 13 December of last year, and today is 11 February—yet it is still not clear to some that those assessments are binding on the Communists of Kosovo. It is a great shame, politically speaking, that those assessments were not acted upon in Kosovo.

The situation is so difficult that no one should take a cavalier attitude regarding one's own conclusions. Judging by blanket explanations by some comrades regarding the assessments by the LCY Central Committee Presidium of the November events, one could say that they have not even read that document, said Stojanovic.

We must clear up the problem as to who accused the workers of nationalism, and who, accordingly, made such an assessment of their participation in the November events. This was not done by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed Stojanovic. How do you explain, he asked, the denial of the facts in the document

of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in light of which it was decided that the meetings had been organized? How is it that the implementation of item 9 of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session of the responsibility of the provincial party leadership is in fact refused by searching for symmetry regarding the responsibility with higher party organs? How is it that here today we are listening to statements that official and semi-official demands to curtail the rights of the Albanians is one of the reasons for their present protest in Kosovo? How is it possible that the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session were endorsed in a serious discussion, and this provincial committee failed to carry them out? There is a similar case, said Stojanovic, regarding the misinformation about the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. If any member of the provincial Committee or of the Kosovo LC as a whole wants to challenge anything implicit in the assessments and stands put forward by the provincial committee Presidium, let him explain his view, but only by producing a reasoned argument. We do not have the time for generalizations, stressed Stojanovic, both because of the difficult social position of the workers as well as because of the tragic prospects which emerge as a result of this kind of behavior.

I propose that you adopt the proposed document without any major changes and that you should look into this kind of attitude by individual provincial committee members toward the decisions of the LCY Central Committee at one of your upcoming sessions, either by explaining whatever is not clear to them or through differentiation if they resist the party policy, said Stanislav Stojanovic in conclusion.

The assessment of the November events in Kosovo, said Sinan Hasani, is one of the main prerequisites for the solution of the difficult situation in the province. The Kosovo LC has the right, and the commitment too, to objectively examine everything which happened then. We are not discussing just what happened in Kosovo 3 months ago; we are now facing a repeat performance of those events. Anyone who is interested in the truth, stressed Hasani, will agree with the draft assessments and stands on the November protests and demonstrations of the citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo put forward by the provincial committee Presidium. These meetings, he said, are mainly a consequence of bad work and mistakes by the Kosovo LC. Both justified and unjustified dissatisfaction was expressed during them, but the demands were accompanied by pro-Yugoslav slogans and symbols. Most participants in those events, Hasani believes, are of Yugoslav orientation and are not under the influence of Albanian nationalism. [passage omitted]

It is a known fact that at its 17th session, the LCY Central Committee addressed serious criticism at the provincial committee and its Presidium requiring that

their responsibility be established for the nonimplementation of the party policy. However, added Hasani, when that was put on the agenda here and when some comrades accepted their removal from office, many applauded them, although they carry objective responsibility for not solving the "Kosovo syndrome."

Having made the assessment that the November events in Kosovo were not primarily engineered by Albanian nationalists, Hasani said that despite that, their influence on these events must not be underrated. He believes that it is wrong to explain the demands for the organizers of the protests and demonstrations to be uncovered by reference to their criminal responsibility; one should be thinking mainly of their ideopolitical responsibility and the ideopolitical measures that should be applied to them.

In a situation when the "sword of Damocles" hangs over Kosovo, single-national protest meetings must cease, especially because they have produced additional alarm. It is high time we returned to reason, "abandoning the road of no return," said Hasani.

The Kosovo LC, added Hasani, must settle accounts with those who are running away from their responsibility for not implementing the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Some of them have already drawn their conclusions, but this must not push them into the opposite camp. Employment must be ensured for these people, he said. [passage omitted]

The time has come to render full support for the new provincial committee team so that "we can get out of muddy waters onto a safe coast," said Sinan Hasani in conclusion.

[Passage omitted]

The proposed stands and assessment, Sevcet Mustafa said in his statement, must be amplified with the assessments on the involvement of the LCY Central Committee and of the Serbian LC Central Committee, formulated during the preliminary assessment, which in his view represented a good basis for making final and realistic assessments of the November events. Big differences between the leaderships of Serbia and Kosovo also had an impact on the mood in Kosovo, and not enough was done to overcome them, Mustafa believes.

Ferdane Cesku described the latest meetings of workers of Albanian nationality as an expression of the need for a dialogue, which the provincial committee must accept because the workers must not be left to their own devices. It is very important for us, said Cesku, to find out to what extent we respect our rank-and-file members.

[Passage omitted]

Dusan Celic warned that individuals today advocated dilution of proposed assessments and stands. He categorically rejected any similarity between the meetings of Albanians and the meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins. He said that the only thing they had in common was a massive expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Conveying the demands of the workers in the collective, also heard at most recent meetings, Djemailj Topjani asked for the names of the organizers to be revealed, if there are any such people, and, if there are not any, for those who misinform the public to be called to account.

Svetislav Zivkovic, president of the Pec LC Municipal Committee, disagreed with a part of the discussion statement by Adem Krasnici, who is an LCY Central Committee member from the Pec party organization. He said that Krasnici had not put forward the demands of the workers and Communists in that municipality, but only the views of the participants in the protest meeting in the leather and footwear combine. He criticized Krasnici for not explaining in that collective the stands of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. Instead of defending and supporting the stands of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, these LCY Central Committee members from Kosovo virtually spoke against those conclusions, said Zivkovic.

Adem Krasnici immediately replied to the president of the Pec LC Municipal Committee and said that he had put forward blanket assessments. Krasnici claimed that he had spoken on behalf of his rank-and-file members and that those were the authentic demands of the workers.

Ali Sabani, the other named LCY Central Committee member, described Svetislav Zivkovic's discussion statement as labeling. He dismissed Dobroslav Radovic's claim that Sabani did not trust the Presidia of the LCY Central Committee, of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, and of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC.

This provincial committee session, Rahman Morina stressed in his concluding address, must be crucial in the sense that it must arrest the processes which could lead us into national division even more dangerous than the division which has gripped our working people and citizens, and even the Kosovo LC membership. These events, stressed Morina, have caused major political damage, particularly in the sphere of intranational relations. Intranational division has reached a danger point. The feeling of insecurity among the Serbs and Montenegrins has intensified, and disquiet has reached a considerable part of the Albanian population. These events as well as the recent protest meetings brought to surface many shortcomings, mistakes, and lapses in our political work. Many other negative consequences occurred precisely because there was no faster mandatory action to

resolve the causes of the serious problems in Kosovo and because the Kosovo LC did not manage to mobilize its membership, working people, and youths, and create a united front of activity.

According to Morina, the Albanian nationalists took advantage of the vacuum to pursue their activity, which encouraged them to make an appearance in the streets reckoning that they would obtain the support of the masses. Fortunately they did not get the expected massive support.

In these assessments, a clear line of separation was made. It was said that an overwhelming number of citizens, especially workers, who took part in these protests, cannot be said to be nationalists, and that they are against the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and against the LCY policy. The assessments mention that an overwhelming number of workers, young people, and other participants prove this with their socialist commitment for the policy of brotherhood and unity. It has also been intimated clearly that, particularly during the recent days, when the meetings escalated, unacceptable demands and slogans of hostile substance were manifested increasingly openly and increasingly frequently, and that among the people attending the meetings, there were a certain number of nationalists and separatists who, by putting forward unacceptable and hostile slogans and demands, tried to color these meetings. In fact this is what gave these events elements of anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav sentiments.

Who contributed to the creation of an atmosphere propitious to protests, and to what extent, must be established by the provincial committee Presidium and by the provincial committee, or by the organ or organization to which that particular member belongs. The Communists in these organizations themselves have to identify the persons who in the collectives or other environments brought influence to bear on or took part in the organization of protest meetings or demonstrations. Appropriate organs have to carry out their commitments only on the basis of their legal powers, therefore making it possible for the LC successfully to carry out its tasks, Morina pointed out.

The observation was also made that the meetings and demonstration had been well organized and directed, although there had also been spontaneous expression of dissatisfaction with the overall situation. This is why we believe that in light of established facts, appropriate responsibility measures had to be taken against LC members who inspired or directly organized these meetings, but that everyone should do their share of the job. Where this is the job of the organs of internal affairs they should do it, associated labor organizations should do their share of the job, and the LC their job as well.

Activity on the consistent implementation of the agreed LCY policy on Kosovo must be stepped up. In particular, much more has to be done about political and action

unity. Clear limits established with these assessments, as well as the implementation of the tasks of the provincial committee action program on the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session should help us operate with greater unity, bring about differentiation sooner, and more successfully eliminate all the obstacles which have been hampering us in our work so far. We must mobilize all the forces in the LC and put an end to the opposition in our ranks to the implementation of the LCY policy.

We will not desist from implementing the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, nor from the conclusions referring to the establishment of the responsibility for the fact that the situation in Kosovo has worsened. We shall insist, stressed Morina, on the compliance with the conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee session. Any other approach to the implementation of these conclusions will in fact be tantamount to blocking the implementation of these conclusions. [passage omitted]

The latest events in work collectives among the workers also indicate that the essence of the changes must be explained to our entire society and in Kosovo as well. For the sake of these changes, we must fight to win over every person in Kosovo, mainly through political action, because most people are for the LCY policy. The fact that many people have failed to be influenced because they were not informed is not their fault; the blame is due to our lack of organization and to our method of work with the masses. This is why, said Morina, there is so much criticism of the presentation of the Kosovo situation, which is not a criticism of the overall situation. This criticism can be partly justified, particularly when one bears in mind the one-sided and incomplete presentation of Kosovo in individual public information media and in newspapers, and even from public platforms. The gravity of the problem and the danger of the formation of an ethnically pure Kosovo is not understood everywhere in the same way.

We must address ourselves to surmounting all the causes which have brought us to our present situation. They are to be found in the continued activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists; in the indoctrination of a segment of Albanian nationality, especially young people; in a specific degree of misinformation of the working people; in large-scale bureaucratization in the LC and in the sociopolitical structures of the province; in the isolation and inactivity of a portion of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo; in overall developments in society; in disunity in LC leaderships; in the activity from positions of Serb and Montenegrin nationalism and other destructive forces; in a difficult economic and social situation in the province; and in many other observations of fact.

What has been noticed during the recent events, said Morina—which we assessed as being a continuation of the November events—is that the fear is very much present among the advocates of the changes which are

thought to threaten the identity of the Albanian nationality. The feeling is that these changes, which are inevitable, are thought as having been foisted. This shows to what extent the LC has been inadequately present among the people and to what extent the processes and the manifestations in our society have failed to be explained. [passage omitted]

Our stand is, stressed Morina, to use all political measures to put an end to increasingly dangerous divisions and confrontations and to channel our social energy into the implementation of the LCY policy. The Kosovo LC is firmly committed and is resolute in its efforts to protect the fundamental values of Yugoslav society, to resolve the serious problems in the province, and to win the battle for Tito's federal, self-management, and socialist Yugoslavia and for a Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, Rahman Morina, president of the provincial committee Presidium of the Kosovo LC, said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Assembly Chamber To Discuss Kosovo 16 Feb
LD1302135988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—A session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly will be held on 16 February. The agenda includes, among other things, a report on the implementation of the Yugoslav program of measures and activities to halt the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

14th LCY Congress To Be Held in December
LD1302131789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—An LCY congress will be held, according to current predictions, between 15 and 20 December this year. This is to be the regular 14th LCY Congress which, it is true, is being held slightly before the time limit stipulated by the statute. Prior to this, probably during October and November, the congresses and conferences of the LC's in the republics and provinces and in the Yugoslav People's Army will be held. The basis for the preparation of the ideopolitical platform for preparing this top party meeting should be the documents on the LCY's reform and on preparations for the adoption of a new constitution. The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee must consider whether this plan coincides with its demand for an extraordinary congress.

This, briefly, is the essence of today's talks between Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the secretaries of the presidia of the central and provincial LC committees and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. The subjects of this working meeting were the realization of the

conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee session into specific programs, cadre in the LCY Central Committee, and preparations for a congress.

Khamene'i Starts 3-day Visit 12 Feb
LD1302085689 Tehran IRNA in English
0845 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 13, IRNA—President 'Ali Khamene'i will pay a state visit to Yugoslavia next week at the invitation of his Yugoslav counterpart Raif Dizdarevic, it was announced today.

According to the public relations department of the presidential bureau, the visit will take three days starting next Monday. [20 February]

This is the first visit to Europe by President Khamene'i.

A high-ranking delegation will accompany Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i in his visit in which the presidents of the two non-aligned states will review mutual political and economic ties as well as international issues.

Belgrade is host to the 9th non-aligned summit meet in September this year.

Assembly Addresses November Demonstrations
AU1202185489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Feb 89 p 3

[D. Pusonjic report: "Demonstrations Have Not Been 'Imported'"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb—Considering that the state security service has established that the instigators and organizers of the Albanian demonstrations in November did not come from any illegal separatist group or from the ranks of Albanian hostile emigres, and foreign intelligence services were not involved, the public security service should present its views on the latest Albanian demonstrations.

This was said by Branko Kostic at the session of the Interior Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber today. He was concluding the discussion on who "in the background" brought the Albanians into the Pristina streets last November.

What did Zdravko Mustac, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, say about this? Internal affairs organs, particularly the State Security Service of Kosovo, continue to work to elucidate the motives and aims, and to discover the organizers of the demonstrations. The state security service has not found any indication that illegal separatist groups, hostile Albanian emigres, or foreign intelligence services were "behind" the whole matter. The information about the organizers has been expanded in cooperation with the public security service, but there is no evidence to prove that anyone was an organizer. Therefore the information cannot be published, for what

police force would be allowed to accuse without being able to prove it, Mustac asked. He assessed that now, more than ever, the problem of these demonstrations "does not appear to concern the police as much as it concerns politics."

Mustac said that the information in the possession of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is not unusable, but serves as an "orientational aid to the organized forces in Kosovo" to whom the report containing names has been submitted. This can serve, as he said, as a basis for a political cleanup which the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs expects. For some of these people on the list, Mustac said, the nature of their activities is clear, considering that they were, for instance, leaders of columns. "They were probably the organizers, and when we collect all of the information, we will probably publish their names."

Here are some characteristic statements made after Mustac's speech:

It is unpleasant to tell the delegates that we have some lists of names but we will not release them. The assembly and the public should not be kept in uncertainty as to whether the names can be published or not. This is in the interest of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, too. (Branko Kostic)

When the state security service information is published about which forces were not involved in organizing the demonstrations, the existing names can be published without any fear of wrongly casting a slur on these people. (Omer Kurpejovic)

If these people are not an extended arm of the hostile emigres, their names must be of high interest to foreign intelligence services and hostile organizations, and it is a question whether it is wise—from the point of view of state security—to publish this list. In addition to stating this, Bozo Kovac also asked what sort of a system this was in which the police serves the sociopolitical organizations, to the extent that these lists are important for the work of these organizations.

We were asked to prepare these lists and to submit them. (Mustac)

You should not have done it, Kovac retorted. He explained that this is unconstitutional anywhere in the world, either in a one-party or a multiparty system.

The question is whether these people will eventually become enemies, said Mustac.

Why did the militia patrols that went ahead of the columns of demonstrators on the way to Pristina not know who the "column leaders" were? This was not clear to Kostic. Petar Skoric believes that "all this is a matter

of political clarification." The idea that aroused the masses is more important than who (by name) led them into the streets. We saw the latter in television reports.

The discussion was finally concluded with Kostic's saying "that the Federal Chamber should be informed, and it is up to the comrades from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to see how they carry this out."

In addition, a mini-discussion about last year's mass protests in Novi Sad also found its place on the agenda. The question was about on which legal basis the detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs was used, and whether the organs of the SR of Serbia gave their consent.

Here is the oral reply: The detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs was engaged in full harmony with many provisions of several laws "for the protection of the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, and when the militia cordon was about to be broken through, for the protection of the constitutional system."

The consent of the SFRY Presidency (requested by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs) and the consent of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, the president of the Assembly of Serbia, and the president of the Republican Executive Council (consent obtained by the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs) were previously obtained. Because the need to engage the detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (among other things) was disputed, the committee requested a written report so that it can establish whether legal regulations need to be changed.

[The remainder of the article appears boxed within the body of the item]

Use of Force

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs also "obtained" the information on the militia's use of force in the period 1984 to the end of the first half of 1987. The data concerns the whole of Yugoslavia.

Firearms and other means of force were used 364 times, mostly in Serbia (109) and Bosnia (82). Firearms were used unjustifiably on 21 occasions, mostly in Bosnia and Slovenia (6 times in each), Serbia and Kosovo (4 times in each), and once in Croatia. Nightsticks were used on 5,318 occasions, mostly in Bosnia (1,346 times) and Serbia (1,042 times). They were used unjustifiably on 241 occasions, mostly in Kosovo (49 times) and Serbia (45 times). Physical force was used on 9,717 occasions. Slovenia leads the table in this category (2,474 occasions—because the meaning of the term physical force is the broadest in this republic). It is followed by Croatia (2,201), Serbia (1,910)...Physical force was used unjustifiably on 436 occasions, mostly in Serbia (80), Croatia (74)...

What are the consequences of using force? In the above mentioned period, 16 persons were wounded, 585 slightly injured (mostly in 1984), and 109 people were seriously injured (mostly in 1984).

There is also information about the cases against the militia: There were 1,871 cases, criminal cases, detrimental to the militia, mainly in Serbia and Slovenia. There were six murder cases (none in Montenegro and Macedonia), and 25 attempted murder cases.

For violating official authority, 698 workers of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs were prosecuted. Out of these, 412 were disciplined, 40 were prosecuted for criminal acts, and 246 for misdemeanors.

Only Work Is Missing

The discussion about the current political-security situation in Yugoslavia was removed from the agenda because the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not forward its report despite the conclusions of the Committee's last session. The discussion was postponed until the next session.

The Yugoslav program for Kosovo was discussed instead.

A fairly long discussion could be summed up by Mojsa Kostic's words: "Everything has been said about Kosovo. What is only missing is the action and establishing accountability for failure to implement obligations." He also said: "If at its next session on the implementation of the program the Federal Chamber discusses the situation, we should raise the question of our own abilities."

Radonjic Unable To Carry Out LCY Duties

LD1302132388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—Dr Radovan Radonjic today informed the Montenegro LC Central Committee that he is unable to carry on his duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee and as the chairman of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work. I am responsible, says Radonjic in his written explanation of this step, for the nonimplementation of part of the tasks which I, together with other members of the LCY Central Committee, took on at the 13th LCY Congress and therefore I do not deserve to take away a place in that organ from someone who will work better.

During the past few months assessments were made about myself and my commitment in a section of the public information media and during some meetings which, in the final analysis, placed a question mark over

the possibility of my stay in the LC. Since these assessments have not been rebutted, my further stay in the LCY Central Committee would not redound to the honor of either that organ of the LC of Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Serbian Church Denounces Suvar's Statements
AU1202184489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Feb 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Gross Interference of the State in Church Affairs"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb—At its session held today, the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church issued a protest note denouncing the statements made by Stipe Suvar. The note refers to the statements according to which the canonical status of the Macedonian Orthodox Church's autocephaly is not recognized, something Dr Suvar sees as alleged "classical Serbian nationalism."

The Synod's statement expresses regret and concern that the first man in the party allowed himself to, as stated, grossly interfere in the internal affairs and order of our church. Dr Suvar's statements are seen as a "slander" at the expense of the Serbian Orthodox Church because he imputed that the church "serves nationalism."

The Holy Synod of bishops resolutely protests against this, as it stated, "unconstitutional, illegal, and inhumane conduct of Dr Stipe Suvar, conduct that is unacceptable from an ethical and civilized point of view."

Behavior of Zenica Iron Works Strikers Condemned
LD1302154889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Zenica, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—There is no possibility of increasing the value of the remuneration points for work done in January. All the other 20 or so demands put forward in the last 4 days in the course of the strike by several hundred workers of the steel works and some other units of the Zenica iron and steel works will be resolved in a self-managing way and through the responsible organs. There was sharp condemnation of the "unseemly and hooliganlike behavior of certain workers," which brought into question the safety of people's lives and of the machinery in the steel works and in other parts of the iron and steel works.

The committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of the iron and steel works has been entrusted with the duty of analyzing these events in detail and naming all those who overstepped the norms of behavior. This is the unanimous conclusion of the delegates of the workers' council of the iron and steel works, adopted at today's extraordinary session, together with a unanimous acceptance of the proposals and programs for resolving the workers' demands, submitted to the delegates by the management board of the iron and steel works.

Vehicle Enterprise Workers End 3-Day Sit-In
LD0802165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—After a 3-day constant sit-in, today at about noon the workers' council of the special vehicle factory, which is part of Sarajevo-based Famos, ended this protest because they were informed that tomorrow they will obtain a final decision on whether there is agreement—after efforts by workers which have lasted 3 years—on the appointment of engineer Svetko Jeremic as director of this work organization.

The protest sit-in was ended in the hope that a positive reply will be forthcoming. As is well known, the signatories of the social compact in the republic also expressed a positive opinion concerning Svetko Jeremic, but the Famos management, who wanted to impose their own candidates on the workers, have constantly opposed his election.

Slovene SAWP Chief Speaks on Political Reform
LD1202202189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Medulin, 12 Feb, (TANJUG)—We in Slovenia advocate a nonparty political pluralism and are convinced that by reforming the Socialist Alliance, we can open up a completely adequate scope for the expression of all political and other differences, which would enable a search for a synthesis to take place on the basis of arguments. This was stated by Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, at a meeting with Pula youth activists at a seminar in Medulin.

Speaking about political reform in Yugoslavia, Smole called for opening up a broad scope for political pluralism for the competition of ideas, direct democracy, and the strengthening of a civil society and a state with the rule of law. On events in Slovenia, Smole said that some people sharply condemned them, and he said that there has already been a demand from the Belgrade SAWP City Conference that they should be considered by the federal conference. These events, Smole explained, have been characterized as the formation of a multiparty system and designated as the restoration of bourgeois democracy. In connection with this, Smole underlined, in the Slovene SAWP, for some years, room has developed for political pluralism, and for its expression and presence in the sense of ideas and concrete proposals.

In Slovenia, he said, many ideas and initiatives have been considered, but always when considering political pluralism, it has been clearly stressed that only those associations which respect the constitutional and socio-economic system of Yugoslavia and which operate within it can be created. It is true, said Smole, that in a sector of the Slovene public there is a euphoria about the formation of various alliances, in connection with which there are negative phenomena. One of these is reflected in the fact that too little account is taken of the critical

experiences of the multiparty system in West European parliamentary states, where movements which stress the negative side of the multiparty system grow stronger, noting that through it it is very easy to manipulate people. [sentence as received]

Uzbek Delegation Visits Towns in Macedonia
LD0902203789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Ohrid, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The delegation from the Uzbek SSR, led by Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek CPSU Central Committee, visited Tetovo, Resen, and Ohrid on the 4th day of its visit. The visitors from the USSR toured the Teteks and Agropod work collectives and showed particular interest in the production process and the activity of sociopolitical communities.

Both sides expressed a desire to exchange experiences between the Macedonian and Uzbek work organizations and the members of the Uzbek delegation are scheduled to hold final talks with representatives of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

Earthquake Strikes Southwest of Zagreb
LD1302105388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—At 0135 this morning the seismographs of the Geophysical Institute in Zagreb recorded a strong earthquake 150 kms southwest of the Croat capital.

The epicenter of the quake was between Rab and Senj. The magnitude of the quake was 4.1 [units on the Richter scale]. The intensity of the quake in Senj was 5-6 degrees on the Mercalli scale. The tremor also caused alarm among the population on the island of Krk.

Charges Brought Against Albanian Nationalists
LD0902161489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The district public prosecutor in Pristina, Ruzdi Kozmaci, today brought charges against two large groups of citizens of Albanian nationality who inscribed slogans and spread pamphlets with hostile content and separatist demands during the course of last year.

A trial of these groups for the criminal act of association for the purpose of hostile activity will be held soon.

Journalists Present Views of Life in Albania
AU0602093789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 89 p 4

[Radislav Cuk article: "Albanians 'Open Up'"]

[Text] (From our special correspondent) Tirana, 25 Jan—A foreigner, especially if he sports a mustache or a beard, is easily recognizable here; even though the

national hero Skenderbeg, whose monument stands in the very center of Tirana, was famous for his mustache, we have not seen a single mustachioed or bearded Albanian in the capital city or in the places we visited nearby.

"Ivica Osim, Drzen Petrovic," [Yugoslav national soccer coach, and a distinguished basketball player] announces a young man in up-to-date dress as he tries to make contact with us on Skenderbeg Square. "Yugoslavia—sports good, music good, economy no good," the young man says in Serbo-Croatian and quickly disappears.

In an ordinary restaurant in the city center, the waiter, who understands Serbo-Croatian, inquires about what his guests would like to order. Meanwhile, an Albanian acquaintance comes up, offers help in the conversation, says that there is a wide choice of dishes and that everything on the menu is available, and disappears. The waiter stands in embarrassment and says in confidence that not quite all the dishes mentioned by the person who came to help us are available.

Our hosts, who are assisting Yugoslav journalists during their visit until the departure of their plane on Tuesday, also drove us to the Faculty of Arts, where we were introduced to the dean of the Music Faculty, Zana Shuteriqi, who is also the daughter of Dhimiter Shuteriqi, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Cooperation. While visiting this faculty, we met a group of girls who are studying in the department of choreography. Here, as several times during this short stay in Tirana, we were told that the Albanians have achieved significant results in their efforts to promote the cause of women's emancipation. In explanation, our companion stresses that Albanian women were "slaves" before the war, and that today every adult Albanian woman is employed and that almost more than half of those earning secondary school and college diplomas are—women. Many of them occupy significant posts in Albania's political and economic life. Two are ministers, one is a member of the Politburo and secretary to the party Central Committee, and there are women who manage factories or who are directors in the media.

In the well-situated Dajti Hotel on Tirana's main street, not far from all the most important state buildings, such as the Central Committee building, the People's Assembly (the seat of government), and the well-kept buildings where the top leaders live, the intellectual cream of Tirana gathers, and reporters from many Balkan and European countries are keeping them company these days. The most frequent topics of conversation, apart from the conclusion of the Balkan meeting, are the relations of our host country, Albania, with its neighbors, Yugoslavia and Greece. As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, it is the cultural agreement that is most frequently talked about, and the fact is mentioned that a little of what was at long last agreed upon is now being embarked on and made a reality. Our hosts stress that

the literary magazine DRITA is publishing a series of poems by three of our classic writers, and that a collection of short stories by our writers will shortly be published.

Papoulias and Malile

Albanian-Greek relations are also very interesting. I learned from a Greek colleague, for a sure fact, that Foreign Affairs Minister Papoulias will have a further meeting (following his stay in Tirana) with the Albanian minister, Reiz Malile, on 16 and 17 February. The program for their meeting is in a certain sense interesting because, after a 2-day stay in the Greek border town of Ioannina, the ministers will cross to Gjirokaster on the Albanian side and go on a hunting trip together.

Observers, of whom there have been more present here in recent days than ever before in recent Albanian history, consider that Albania is also establishing strong bilateral ties with Greece out of a desire to draw closer to the EEC. Greece could play an important intermediary role here.

In an attempt to create a somewhat clearer picture of the country to journalists, a large number of foremost intellectuals have been engaged here who, even if not asked, attempt to strike up conversations on this topic with us. One fundamental assessment of observers is that Albania is making every attempt to present itself to the world in the rosiest hues possible, which could be controversial in some quarters. For Albania, in the course of its "fast socialist development," is succeeding in achieving great results in some plans, while in others is nevertheless lagging far behind Europe as a whole. It is not simply a matter of poverty, because anybody who attempts to objectively assess the economic and social situation in Albania would no doubt draw the conclusion that Albania, especially after the breach with the Soviet Union and China, was in a situation to carry out its ambitious 5-year plans independently. Taking everything into consideration, our hosts' fear that the world "will fail to understand them" turns out to be excessive.

How Much Is a Salary?

Many of the facts we obtained from our guides, but also from our fellow journalists, intellectuals, and people we talked to, including students, could perhaps to some extent correct the impression the world has of Albania. It is also evident that Albania judges itself, above all, by its own activities in foreign affairs. As far as domestic affairs are concerned, foreign observers are surprised at some facts. It is difficult to count them all. Let us cite some of the data which will be of interest to our readers: The highest salaries amount to 1,100 leks (officially \$100 equals 700 leks), and this is the salary of most specialists. The lowest wage is 40 leks [figure as published]. Workers who on an average earn between 600 and 700 leks nevertheless have the chance in this country to earn even the highest incomes, on the condition that they exceed their norms. Innovators are also encouraged with respect to their innovations, especially if they lead to substantial savings, and will receive as a reward a lump sum of 2,000 leks. As is well-known, Albania is a country without private property. There is only state and social property. A major transformation is being planned for the cooperatives, with the aim of placing the greatest emphasis on the so-called state farms, which obtain high yields, for example, 65 quintals of wheat. Agricultural workers, as peasants are called here, have social security. A well-developed local infrastructure and secondary schools are provided for them. There are six categories of workers, the highest being master. Workers are able to complete college while at work and educate themselves while still at work. Our readers will probably be interested in prices. Shoes cost about 100 leks, a bicycle between 700 and 800 leks, and housing costs a worker's wages for one day, in other words 30 leks. When someone marries, the district or his enterprise assumes the obligation of providing an apartment. A worker who is allocated an apartment can contribute to its faster construction with his own labor. Single people are in the most difficult situation here because they must wait some years for an apartment. There are efforts to encourage families to have more children, and those with six or more enjoy certain benefits.